

The DAILY WORKER Raises the Standard for a Workers' and Farmers' Government

THE DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK EDITION

Entered as Second-class matter September 21, 1922, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1873.

Vol. III. No. 52. Subscription Rates: In Chicago, by mail, \$2.00 per year. Outside Chicago, by mail, \$4.00 per year.

SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1926

250 Published Daily except Sunday by THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO., 1111 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Price 3 Cents

RALLY TO THE AID OF MEXICAN WORKERS



Recent Appropriations of Millions of Dollars for the Army and Navy Is More Nourishment to Fatten This Profit Swollen Dividend Baby.

FUR WORKERS CONDEMN PLOT AGAINST UNION

Passaic Strikers Send Their Greetings

(Editor's Note.—On page three is printed the exposure of the way in which the yellow socialists Forward, referred to in the following article, tried to destroy the furriers' strike in New York by gang tactics.)

(Special to The Daily Worker)
NEW YORK, March 11—Three of the largest halls in this city were packed to overflowing with fur workers who had been aroused to fury by the conspiracy of the Daily Forward and its yellow socialist crew to break up their strike.

Speakers pointed out that this was not the first time the Forward tried to break a strike. In 1913 it performed a similar function in the men's clothing strike, but did not succeed. At that time the enraged workers marched down to the office of the paper and smashed the windows of the newspaper plant.

Greetings From Passaic.
A great reception greeted Albert Weisbord, leader of the Passaic textile strike, when he rose to address the gathering. "I bring greetings," he declared, "from 12,000 workers who are striking against reductions which the woolen barons wanted to make to the already starvation wages which they have been receiving and which have made their living conditions worse than slavery. These textile workers have to labor under conditions which ruin their health in a short time because of the dyes, bleaches, odors which come from the rooms in which the woolens are washed."

The average wage of the textile worker is from \$12 to \$22, a week. This does not give the worker enough to provide food and shelter for himself and his family. Consequently the mothers are forced into the factories and the children are left to rove the streets."

A Militant Spirit.
Gold, the last speaker, pointed out that the Forward had associated itself with the Kaufman machine and was working with the manufacturers' agents. Not even that combination could destroy the militancy of the strikers, he declared.

Other speakers were Ben Gitlow, Hyman, Warshafsky, and Weinstein.

When that argument begins at lunch time in your shop tomorrow—show them what the DAILY WORKER says about it.

FACTS SUPPORT CHARGE OF THE DAILY WORKER THAT U. S. SEEKS TO MAINTAIN SOUTH-AMERICAN TYRANNY

In startling confirmation of the statements made in The DAILY WORKER that the United States government is trying to perpetuate American imperialist rule in the Tacna-Arica region of South America instead of going ahead with the much-vaunted plebiscite, is the following dispatch from Washington received over the International News Service wires late yesterday:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11—Reports that the American government is considering abandonment of the plebiscitary plan for settling the Tacna-Arica dispute between Peru and Chile, and is endeavoring to find another means of adjusting the ancient controversy, could neither be confirmed nor denied here today. The reports arose from difficulties which have been encountered, which are said to be sufficiently grave to convince Americans on the ground that the plebiscite would prove nothing. The state department would not comment, neither affirming nor denying."

This follows upon Wednesday's Associated Press dispatch which stated: "In some South American circles, at least the opinion is held that a plebiscite is impossible, and under the cover of diplomatic secrecy informal but earnest efforts have been made to find some other solution."

What that "some other" solution might be is not disclosed.

RELIGIOUS SHOW AT DES MOINES BRINGS FLAREUP

Divine Monkey Not Good Enuf, Says Priest

(Special to The Daily Worker)

DES MOINES, Ia., March 11—The spasms of religious emotion into which ordinarily humdrum community has been thrown by the various churchly outfits which have centered the celebration of "religious life emphasis week" here are as nothing on par to the latest developments.

The Rev. E. T. Tittle, of Evanston, started the fireworks when he declared "an address to the congregated etcs that "there are some things that god cannot do." He then enumerated some of these, naming the inability of the divinity to prevent the sinking of the Titanic by an iceberg and to alleviate the bitterness which developed from the defeat of France in 1871.

Rejects Divine Chimpanzee.

Very indignant at this denial of omnipotence to his god, the Rev. E. T. Aldrich, president of the local Biblical Association, withdrew his followers from the joint celebration. "A divine chimpanzee" he declared heatedly, may be that the Methodist folks of Evanston, Ill., but it won't go with the followers of Wesley in Des Moines."

Y. M. C. A. Spiritual Poisoner.

Dr. Aldrich also castigated the Y. M. C. A. He charged that instead of dispensing religious faith during the world war, it had sold cigarettes to the soldiers and spread "spiritual poison and German philosophy" among them. The Y. M. C. A., he charged, had become a "nest of modernism."

These circus stunts have tremendously increased the attendance at the meetings. It is estimated that 20,000 people a day have been attracted.

Bank in Minnesota Closes; Farmers Hit

COKATO, Minn., March 11.—The Farmers' and Merchants' State Bankers was closed today by bank examiners. Depleted reserves are assigned as the cause. The bank had deposits of about \$500,000.

Cokato is the center of a farming district and the bank's suspension has hit many farmers of the section.

IMPERIALISTS AT TIENSIN HELP CHANG TSO-LIN

Rush Foreign Warships to Taku

(Special to The Daily Worker)

PEKING, March 11.—After notice had been served on the commander of the Taku forts threatening summary action unless the mines placed in Tientsin harbor were removed immediately, Feng's engineers removed them, with the result that Chang Tso Lin's warships steamed in close and bombarded the fortress heavily. The nationalists enraged at this imperialist maneuver.

The commanders of British and Italian gunboats served the warning after they had cleared decks for action.

The senior minister of the powers has filed a strong note in their behalf with the Chinese foreign office, protesting against the closing of Tientsin harbor and the interruption to traffic over the Peking-Tientsin railway. The note demands the removal of all channel mines and the cessation of firing between the forts and war vessels.

An American Precedent.

Regardless of the response to the note, the powers have notified the government that they will enforce the rights guaranteed them under the Boxer protocol of 1901. This provided that Peking should never be closed from access to the sea. As a precedent for their action the imperialists point to the method used by an American admiral, Benson, late in the last century, to compel the opening of commerce for a Brazilian port closed by revolutionary troubles.

The Kuomintang leaders assert they will close the channel again whenever necessary in their judgment. Meanwhile, additional foreign warships have been ordered to Taku.

Call on Government to Seize Struck Mines

WASHINGTON, March 11—Declaring an "intolerable situation" existed in the American coal industry, Senator Burton K. Wheeler (democrat) of Montana, this afternoon sponsored a bill authorizing nationalization of all anthracite mines in time of emergency.

The bill would create a "federal anthracite corporation," its directors to be appointed by the president, with authority to seize and operate the hard coal mines in event of strikes. A provision would insure "payment of just wages to miners as a matter of right and as the product of genuine collective bargaining."

LODI TEXTILE WORKERS JOIN PASSAIC STRIKE

4,000 to Be Out Before Week Is Over

(Special to The Daily Worker)

PASSAIC, N. J., March 11.—The strike of 11,000 textile workers spread to Lodi when more than 600 workers at the Lodi United Dyers Works joined the Passaic, Garfield and Cliffton strikers following a spectacular demonstration in which 5,000 pickets took part. It is expected that the entire 4,000 in the plant will join the strike before the week is over.

At a rally of the Lodi strikers in Belmont Park Hall the workers exhibited a determined resolution to pull out the rest of the shop.

Pull Out Paterson Shop.

Ten delegates, representing every department from Mill A attended the strike committee meeting and made plans for bringing out not only the remainder of Mill A but the three other mills, two of them in Paterson, that are a part of the Lodi works. The mills in Lodi employ more than 4,000 workers, who are paid by the hour, an average wage being forty cents.

The march on Lodi, contemplated as the peak of the strike for many weeks, was carried out in perfect order. The great line marched around and around the mill, with several hundred Lodi strikers, who had met it at the gate, leading them. Large picket lines will picket the mills every day until all the workers are out.

Altho the Lodi police force was informed beforehand that 5,000 strikers were marching toward the town, its police did not mass to meet them, nor did any policeman carry a night stick. Chief of Police White, who was not in uniform, told reporters that the strikers could picket "as long as they had shoes," as far as he was concerned. He requested that the marchers discard their army helmets while marching in Lodi, since no violence had occurred there, and no striker would be clubbed. This request was complied with.

More Relief Needed.

The spontaneous movement of the Lodi workers was accompanied by increased activity in relief work, due to the strike.

(Continued on page 2)

I. L. G. W. U. Locals Aid Workers' School

NEW YORK, March 11—The latest unions to line up for the Workers' School include Locals 2, 9, 22, 35 and 55 of the International Ladies Garment Workers. Every one of these locals elected two delegates, endorsed the school, and either immediately appropriated funds or referred the matter to their sub-committees on finance with instructions to make the donation in accord with the capacity of the local to aid workers' education and the Workers' School.

"We know the necessity for workers' education," declared Chairman Stanzer of Local 2 in welcoming the visiting committee. "We know it is the only institution where working class education is given. We want to see it grow. We are proud of the growth it has already made. It is of help to us and it is our duty to help it."

Local 35 in addition to electing delegates endorsing the school and providing for the voting of a donation, decided to start a class for its executive members as a result of the committee's appeal. This class will consist of about 30 members, all of them officials of Local 35. Several other unions are following a similar procedure.

A sub a day will help to drive capital away.

BREAK WITH MEXICO SOUGHT!

WASHINGTON, March 11—Immediate withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of Mexico by the United States was provided under a resolution introduced in the house today by Representative Boylan, (D.) New York.

"The president," said the resolution, "should withdraw diplomatic recognition of Mexico, until such time as the policies and conduct of that government, in relation to educational and religious institutions of all creeds and nationalities justify a resumption of relations."

Every Friend of Workers' Education Should Be There!

DIGGERS THREATEN CHOWDER FAMINE IF PRICES NOT RAISED

(Special to The Daily Worker)
ONSET, Mass., March 11.—The men who dig for clams in Buzzard's Bay, a large center of supply for this industry, have notified the dealers that they must be given a 25 per cent increase in the prices paid them or they will stop operations. The price asked is \$1 a peck compared to 80 cents now paid.

The higher cost of living makes the new scale necessary, the diggers state.

Still Hope to Rescue Four Missing Miners

(Special to The Daily Worker)
ECCLES, W. Va., March 11.—With four miners missing, rescuers today were continuing to explore passageways in Mine No. 5 of the Crab Orchard Improvement Company. Of the 28 men entombed in the mine when the explosion shook the shaft Monday night 10 were rescued alive late Tuesday and 14 bodies recovered. Rescuers hope that the four miners still missing will be found alive.

U. S. INSPECTOR KILLS HIMSELF FEARING PROBE

Three Flee Country to Dodge Investigation

The threatened investigation of the violations of the corrupt practices act at the Union Stock Yards has caused one veteran government inspector to commit suicide by swallowing bladders of mercury tablets and two to flee to Mexico while a third fled to Panama, according to the department investigating the violations.

It is stated that the veteran government inspector preferred death to the consequences of an investigation for his part in the conspiracy with the "yards" officials and cattlemen or organizers to commit frauds that total close to \$3,000,000.

When cattle, hogs or sheep were sent to the "yards" by the farmers, they were placed in classes to be low their grade. The farmer was paid a low price. When they sold this live stock the grade then was boosted.

A number of farmers' organizations are making complaints as the sale of their livestock is supposed to be done under a commission basis.

The department of justice announces that it will not conduct an investigation of the meat inspection at either the "yards" or the packing plants. It will only investigate charges of short weights and discrimination. A number of livestock traders have been suspended from the stock exchange by Secretary of Agriculture Jardine for periods of three to five years for their part in the conspiracy to defraud.

Cut Cable Between Hongkong and Manila

(Special to The Daily Worker)
MANILA, March 11—The Hongkong-Manila cable line has been maliciously cut about 35 miles out at sea, it was announced here today by officers of the cable company. They declared, "The cable had been raised to the surface with grappling hooks, and then cut."

Communication between Manila and Hongkong was restored.

A sub a day will help to drive capital away.

"American imperialism is the common enemy of Mexico and the American workers alike. We must unite against it. We must rally to the support of the Mexican people, use every means to prevent them from being overwhelmed by the danger that threatens them."

"The Communist International, by its resolute support of China, Morocco and all other countries struggling against imperialism, has pointed the way.

"Hands off Mexico!

"Demand the immediate publication of all secret correspondence!

"Rally to the support of our brothers in Mexico!

"Down with Wall Street!

"Down with American imperialism!

"Workers (Communist) Party of America.

C. E. Ruthenberg, General Secretary."

LEAGUE WAITS FOR BRIAND AS ONLY SAVIOUR

Jealousies and Intrigue Threaten Unity

(Special to The Daily Worker)

GENEVA, March 11.—The league of nations assembly here is all at sea as to just what is going to happen. The representatives of the Big Four, England, France, Italy and Japan, hold almost continuous conferences with each other, with the Germans, and with the delegates from Poland, Spain and Brazil. All sorts of political strings are being pulled and the air is full of high power intrigue.

Under the pressure of the threat by the German delegates that unless Germany was admitted by Saturday they would leave that night for Berlin, the subcommittee of the league, which under the chairmanship of Austen Chamberlain passes upon applications for membership, has unanimously recommended that Germany be given a permanent seat in the council. All the conditions had been fulfilled, the committee reported. Upon the reading of this decision, Paul Boncour, the French delegate arose and declared that France had dropped its demand for the admission into the council simultaneously with Germany of Poland and Spain.

Germany's admission is now set for Friday, with her right to exercise all the privileges of membership on Saturday. No one knows, however, for certain whether this program will actually go thru.

A Merry Game.

Any of the present non-permanent members of the council can block Germany's admission. Sweden, one of these, has repeatedly stated that it will not under any consideration vote for the admission as a member of any other nation besides Germany. Brazil, on the other hand, also a non-permanent member but with a vote, has announced thru Mello Franco, its delegate, that explicit instructions from the president of Brazil allow a vote for Germany's admission only if Brazil is at the same time given a permanent seat. Japan, a permanent member, surprised all by her refusal to commit herself to vote for the admission of Germany. Spain is non-committal, and is trying to force her own admission to the council.

Briand, The Saviour.

Everyone is awaiting expectantly the arrival of Aristide Briand, the chief French delegate and the moving spirit, along with Austen Chamberlain, of the whole league. He is looked forward to as a saviour of the nondescript crew which make up the delegations. Everything is here from fascists fresh from the murder regime in Italy to the British imperialist, Austen Chamberlain, and the social-democratic foreign minister of Sweden, Umden.

Submit Secret War Aviation Plans to Military Committee

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11.—Drafts of two new proposed war department aviation programs were submitted to the house military affairs committee yesterday with the injunction upon each member that their contents must not be revealed until after tomorrow's session. Secretary of war Davis and Major General Mason M. Patrick, chief of the army air service, will then appear before the committee to argue their respective viewpoints.

Patrick wants an independent air service for the army on the model of that which exists in the navy. Davis is for pursuing the present subordination of departments. Both plans involve a five year program.

"The unions are the pillars of the workers' power."—Losovsky.

Passaic Textile Strikers' Relief Tag Day.

5,000 Volunteers Wanted

Report at the Stations Announced in Today's Daily Worker on the First Page.

Help the Heroic Strikers Win Their Strike!

Help Raise \$50,000 to Feed Their Hungry Families!

Joint Committee

General Relief Committee Passaic Textile Strikers and the International Workers' Aid, New York Section

799 Broadway, Room 238

New York City

CLEVELAND WILL FORM COUNCIL FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN-BORN AT CONFERENCE SUNDAY MORNING

CLEVELAND, March 11.—The Cleveland Council for the Protection of Foreign-born Workers will be formed on Sunday, March 14. A conference is being called at the Insurance Center Building, 1783 E. 11th St., sixth floor, Hall A, at 10 a. m. All organizations are invited by the provisional committee to send two delegates each.

There will be a mass meeting at the Moose Auditorium, 1000 Walnut St., Sunday afternoon, March 14, at 3 o'clock. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Cleveland Council for the Protection of Foreign-born Workers. The speakers will be Peter Witt, Cleveland councilman; Albert F. Coyle, editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal; Max Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen; David Lee of the Kuomintang; I. Amter, district secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party; John Olchon, president of Local No. 439 of the International Association of Machinists. J. Brantin will be the chairman.

"SOCIALIST" FORWARD TRIES TO CRIPPLE ORGANIZATION DRIVE OF THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS

GANGSTERS BEAT UP PROGRESSIVE UNION LEADER

Carpenters Take Steps to Defend President

(Special to The Daily Worker)

CLEVELAND, March 11.—President Livingstone of Local No. 105 of the Carpenters' Union, was beaten up by gangsters last Monday night, as he was entering the hall at which the local meeting was held.

President Livingstone is a real progressive, and has not hesitated to express his opinion of the policies and methods used by the reactionary officials of the Cleveland and the American Federation of Labor. He is not in harmony with the terrorist policies of Hutchison, the boss of the Carpenters' Brotherhood.

Thugs Attack Progressive.

This is why Livingstone was singled out for an attack by thugs. A few teeth were knocked out by the plug-ugly, and the side of his face was badly battered. All of this occurred before the members of the union, who were in the hall, could get out and aid their president.

The week before an appeal of the International Labor Defense was presented to Carpenters' Local No. 105, and the president insisted on reading it whether it pleased some members of the union or not. This showed that he was not to be intimidated by usages of the higher-ups that certain organizations are on the index expurgatories.

Members to Aid President.

The local meeting decided to take steps to prevent a recurrence of the outrage from which the president suffered. The members of the union did not hesitate to say that they know in whom to employ the gangsters acted; perhaps some officials of the Cleveland Federation of Labor can give definite information.

Teapot Dome Grafters Fear Radio Publicity

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11.—A radio talk by Senator Walsh, democrat of Montana, Teapot Dome prosecutor, during the grand jury's investigation of the naval oil cases, was assailed again today by counsel for ex-secretary of interior, Albert B. Fall and Edward L. Doheny, under indictment for conspiracy in connection with the leasing of the Elk Hills' California reserve.

Walsh's talk was "a deplorable effort improperly to influence the administration of justice," said a supplemental brief filed by the counsel in the court of appeals which they have asked to overthrow the indictment.

Get your tickets now for the international concert of the T. U. E. L. Sat., March 13, at 8th St. Theater.

Passaic Textile Strikers' Relief Tag Day.

5,000 Volunteers Wanted

Report at the Stations Announced in Today's Daily Worker on the First Page.

Help the Heroic Strikers Win Their Strike!

Help Raise \$50,000 to Feed Their Hungry Families!

Joint Committee

General Relief Committee Passaic Textile Strikers and the International Workers' Aid, New York Section

799 Broadway, Room 238

New York City

ARREST POLICE CHIEF WITH BRUTAL AIDES

To Have Grand Jury Investigation

(Special to The Daily Worker)

PASSAIC, N. J., March 11.—With the arrest of Chief of Police Richard O. Zober of Passaic, and two of his patrolmen, a fight has begun against police brutality on textile mill strikers.

Zober and Patrolmen Cornelius Struyk and Edward Hogan gave themselves up at the Passaic police station several days after the warrants had been sworn out. They were released on their own recognizance for investigation by the grand jury.

The warrants, charging assault and battery, were filed in the names of four non-strikers and one striker. All complainants aware that Zober and his men had struck them with clubs during recent clashes between the police and strikers.

John Budz, 27, ex-service man, exhibited before Justice of Peace Julius Zuber, who declared he was inflicted by Zober when the chief and twenty-five patrolmen raided a strike rally in Neubauer's hall on February 19. The complainants against the two policemen are Richard Nawrot and his wife Pauline, Walter Yanowicz and Mary Stasiak, all non-strikers.

The Nawrots complained that on the morning of Feb. 26, the two patrolmen entered their grocery store beat them, kicked them, and threw them to the ground. Mrs. Nawrot charged that Struyk tried to prevent her from entering the store while Hogan was beating her husband. Yanowicz declared that Struyk beat him in the grocery store, and Mrs. Nawrot charged that Hogan struck her as she was going down the street.

This action followed the assault of Passaic and Clifton police upon a line of 3,000 peaceful pickets on March 3. During the clash newspaper reporters and photographers were attacked and cameras were smashed by patrolmen. Previously tear gas bombs and fire hoses had been used by the police to rout the picket line.

Youngstown Will Hold Package Party

(Special to The Daily Worker)

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, March 11.—A package party will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 307 North Walnut St. Sunday night, March 14th for the benefit of the striking textile workers of Passaic. The Italian Workers string band and the Freiheit Gang Gang Verein will furnish the music. Sadie Amter of Cleveland will be the principal speaker. Readers of THE DAILY WORKER are invited to attend and bring their friends.

Silk Workers Win Their Strike in Pennsylvania

(Special to The Daily Worker)

CARBONDALE, Pa., (FP)—March 11—The prompt answer of its 150 employees by their strike against proposed wage cuts made the Empire Silk Co. reconsider the situation and agree not to change wages or working conditions for the present. Striking silk workers of the Leon-Errnenbach mills won their fight for increased wages began when the anarcho strike ended. The United Textile Workers' Union is organizing silk workers, most of them miners' wives and daughters, in this district.

Foreign Exchange.

NEW YORK, March 11—Great Britain pound sterling, demand, 4.85%; cable, 4.84%; France, franc, demand, 3.62%; cable 3.63%; Belgium, franc, demand, 4.53%; cable 4.54%; Italy, lira, demand, 4.01%; cable 4.01%; Sweden, krona, demand, 26.79; cable 26.82; Norway, krona, demand, 21.76; cable 21.78; Denmark, krona, demand, 26.05; cable 26.07; Shanghai, tael, demand, 75.00.

GIRL CHARGES BUSINESS MEN ASSAULTED HER IN FOUR-DAYS' ORGY

Warrants charging criminal assault, the penalty for which is imprisonment from any term of years to life, were sworn out yesterday for five men accused by Miss Irene Saari of having held her prisoner and mistreated her in a four days' orgy at a fashionable Sheridan Road hotel.

The information against the men contained in affidavits of Miss Saari and corroborating witnesses who were questioned today and unhesitatingly picked out John W. Hill, president and general manager of a real estate concern, and J. Arthur Dundas, a business associate, the only two under arrest, as having been with the girl.

The others named are Harold Rustey, William Cooper and Larry Costell, other subordinates of Hill in the realty concern.

Workers Make Big Error If They Believe What They Read in Kept Press

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

IT is difficult for some workers to understand why the Union of Soviet Republics should ask credits of capitalist countries. They think this is cringing or surrendering to labor's enemy. They compare this to the class collaboration charged against the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. They think that the Soviet Union should isolate itself from the world and stand on its own feet. A correspondent has just stated this viewpoint as follows:

"The DAILY WORKER has time and again found fault with Gompers, Green and all other misleaders of labor because they were begging favors of the capitalists. But I never saw any account where it was

"Soviet Russia practically admits that if it cannot get a loan from capitalist America, then it is doomed to failure. If they cannot buy machinery from labor exploiters in the United States of America, they are doomed to destruction, etc., etc. What is that but to admit failure? This cringing and begging favors of the enemy looks mighty suspicious or rather foolish, first of all because Russia has all the natural resources and much idle labor. Why not build her own machines and employ her own labor. Let Uncle Sam beg!"

* * *

This letter is from a worker in the shops. It is important because it represents a viewpoint that has evidently been gained thru reading the capitalist press. This accounts for the misconceptions that it contains.

First of all, there is no comparison between the attitude of the greater part of the American labor officialdom and the Soviet Union toward American capitalism.

The very existence of the Soviet Union is in itself a threat to the continued existence of capitalism, not only in the United States but in every nation tolerating a capitalist economy. The officials of American labor deny the class struggle and thru their class collaboration schemes try to find "the easiest way" to get along with the exploiters of labor. Any dealings the Soviet Union may have with capitalist nations are not based on a desire to collaborate with capitalism. Its only purpose is to build the Soviet power, in creating its power to challenge and overcome capitalism.

The Soviet Union begs no favors. If it adopted the beggarly attitude, an untold amount of aid would have come its way. The difference is that the Soviet Union refuses to pay the price of begging. It refuses to become a vassal state of Wall Street, like Germany.

It is not true that the Soviet Union is doomed to failure if it cannot get a loan from capitalist America. No loans or credits have thus far been received and the Soviet Union is developing rapidly just the same.

The Soviet Union imports machinery, agricultural implements, even high grade sheep, hogs, horses and cattle to hurry the reconstruction of her industry and agriculture. The Soviet Union, like the United States, is rich in natural resources and can exist and develop isolated from the world. But owing to the backwardness of industry and agriculture, and the devastation wrought by the world war, the civil war of intervention, that development would be slow and difficult unless the Soviet Union uses her commanding position to force assistance from other countries.

The more rapid the development of Soviet economy, the quicker will the nightmare of the deposed czardom be obliterated from all Russia. The Soviet power can be depended on to take no steps that will endanger its existence thru the slightest surrender to the forces of capitalism—least of all to capitalist America. The myth about idle labor in the Soviet Union is entirely the creation of the capitalist press. There may be those temporarily out of work due to necessary readjustments in Russia's great industrial and economic machine. But unemployment in the sense of great armies of workers wandering over the land, hungry, separated from their families, seeking jobs, does not exist in the Soviet Union.

Many workers, like the correspondent quoted above, make the mistake of not only reading the capitalist press, but in believing the lying propaganda that they read.

U. S. Inspector Kills Self Fearing Probe

(Continued from Page 1)

ing the day. The Joint Board of Cloak and Dress Makers of the International Garment Workers' Union voted one hour's pay for relief, which will add thousands of dollars to the relief fund, badly needed with the prospect of 4,000 more idle workers on strike. The Executive Committee of the Workmen's circle endorsed the strikers' demands. A mass meeting in Madison Square gardens, New York, is being planned.

The Associated Silk Workers of Paterson were called upon by Organizer Weisbord, in a letter to Fred Hoelscher, secretary, to form a united front with the committee at Passaic in organizing the workers of the Lyons Dye Works and the two mills belonging to the Lodi Dye Works there. The striking delegates from Lodi demand that their fellow workers in Paterson be organized and given a chance to join them, and it is believed that this can be effected by the existing union in Paterson, the Associated Silk Workers, since they have expressed sympathy with the Passaic strike.

"The trade unions remain and will remain for a long time a preparatory school for the training of the proletariat."—Lenin.

DETROIT WILL HOLD CONFERENCE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN-BORN ON SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 21

DETROIT, Mich., March 11—The call for a conference for protection of foreign-born workers has been sent out by a provisional committee, to meet at Fraternity Hall, Sunday morning, March 21, at 10:30 o'clock. The call has been sent to all the trade unions and working class fraternal and benefit organizations in Detroit and they are urged to send two delegates each to the conference.

CELEBRATION OF COMMUNE WILL BE A GRAND AFFAIR

Chicago I. L. D. Prepares Splendid Program

On Friday night, March 19, at the Ashland Blvd. Auditorium, Van Buren St., and Ashland Blvd., Chicago workers will commemorate the 55th anniversary of the Paris Commune. Never before have such extensive preparations been made in this city to bring to life the glory of the struggle of the Paris Commune.

A spectacular one-act drama, translated from the Russian, is to be given by a cast of eight under the direction of Ivan Sokoloff, well-known local actor. Special stage settings, including a scene portraying a barricaded Paris street, are being arranged by J. Mednis, who has achieved success in other local plays. Costumes and lighting effects are in charge of the famous artists, Fred Ellis, Lydia Gibson and Beatrice Ellis. Other features of the program include a stage pantomime by the "Omladina" society; prison songs by a group of Russian singers, and motion pictures of class war prisoners' aid, all with orchestral accompaniment.

List of Speakers.

The chief speakers will be Bishop W. M. Brown, the "heretic" churchman; Robert Minor, editor of the Saturday magazine section of THE DAILY WORKER, and J. W. Johnstone, national secretary of the Trade Union Educational League.

Tickets may be obtained in advance for 25 cents at the local I. L. D. office, 22 S. Lincoln St., THE DAILY WORKER office, or at other newspaper offices or bookstores. Admission at the door will be 50 cents.

Engdahl Speaks for the Mothers' League Tues. Night at Division Hall

J. Louis Engdahl, editor of THE DAILY WORKER, will speak on "The Protection of the Foreign-Born" at the meeting of the Mothers' League to be held Tuesday night, at Division Hall,

LAWRENCE AIDS RELIEF WORK IN PASSAIC STRIKE

United Front Committee Arranges Mass Meeting

LAWRENCE, Mass., March 11.—The visit of Passaic strikers to Lawrence was a great event for the mill workers here. "Mother" Bloor went with them to the mill gates every day and while they distributed strike bulletins Bloor spoke to large crowds who listened eagerly to her message as conditions in Lawrence are as bad as those in Passaic.

Tag Day was organized with girls from Lawrence, some women from Mother Bloor's league of Boston and girls from Young Workers' (Communist) League. Mother Bloor spoke to large street crowds, and in spite of the cold the workers stood for over an hour while the girls collected.

Club Aid Strikers.

On the evening of the Tag Day at the France-Belgian club, the costume dance was halted while Mother Bloor appealed for a collection for the strikers. The Providence group won the first prize of \$10, which they promptly donated, all the other groups followed suit and this with the collection amounted to over \$80 from this club.

At the German club the strikers received a large collection.

The Italian co-operative association held a mass meeting with Giovanitti as their speaker to which Bloor was invited. The strikers collected \$35 at this meeting and the society pledged \$25 for this week and \$10 for every week until strike is won.

A very interesting mass meeting was held the day following the Tag Day in Eagles Hall. Many new members were secured and a collection of \$90 was taken. The chairman of the meeting was Timothy McShea, president of the Pacific mill unit of the United Front committee, one of the largest units of united front. The speakers were Oliver Christian, president of the Loom Fixers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L. O. and one of the units of united front; Alfred Colton, president of the United Front committee of textile workers; Joe Salano of the Italian co-operative; "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor and the strikers' committee from Passaic, Rose Hudnay, Katherine Klein and Paul Miller.

To Hold Organization Meetings.

At a membership meeting of the united front committee held after the mass meeting, Mother Bloor was invited to return to Lawrence for a week of noon-day organization meetings at the shop gates and a number of hall meetings.

A big mass meeting will be held Sunday, March 21, in Eagles Hall, with a special appeal to women weavers and other mill workers.

In one of the large mills, the Pacific, one woman worker told of how when she had 16 to 20 looms to tend she received more than she receives now operating 32 looms. Altho a grandmother, she has to speed up more than ever to hold her position.

The doubling up system brings forth loud protests from the women. Only by strongly banding together can they change this condition. If one girl protests alone, she is told she had better look out or her "time" will be given her next pay day. In order to change conditions they must unite!

Telephone Lehigh 6022
DR. ABRAHAM MARKOFF
Surgeon Dentist
249 East 115th St., Cor. Second Ave.
NEW YORK CITY
Office Hours: 9 to 12 A. M. 2 to 5 P. M.
Daily, except Friday; Sunday 9 to 1 P. M.
Special Rates to W. P. Members



**March Issue
of the
WORKERS MONTHLY**

\$2.00 a Year—\$1.25 Six Months

SUBSCRIBE!

FIFTEEN FUR SHOPS AGREE TO UNION'S TERMS

135 Workers Return Victoriously

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., March 11—The reconstruction program of the Soviet Union has been given a big impetus by the government's decision to order 14,000 more tractors. The order will be divided between the United States and Germany.

In addition, 1,750 tractors of the American type will be constructed in factories in this country. The Putilov workers at Leningrad will build 850 of the Fordson-Putilov model, an adaptation of the American Ford tractor to Russian conditions.

EXPECT SENATE TO TRY FEDERAL JUDGE ENGLISH

Ran Bankruptcy Ring, Is Charge

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, March 11.—A special session of the senate will probably be called to act as high court of impeachment if the house sustains the charges against Federal Judge George W. English of the eastern district of Illinois.

The judiciary committee of the house has recommended Judge English's trial by a vote of 14 to 6. The house will probably approve the report within a week. "High misdemeanors in office" is the formal charge. Specifically he is accused of manipulating a bankruptcy ring within his court, and with conduct unbefitting a judicial officer.

Judge English was appointed by President Wilson.

Wireless Operators of England End Strike

(Special to The Daily Worker)

LONDON, March 11.—The strike of the marine wireless operators has been settled by the men going back to work at the reduced wages offered by the companies. All matters in dispute, including the wage question, are to be subject to negotiations between the operators and their employers. Upon the failure to reach a settlement the dispute will be arbitrated.

The strike began last November. The companies have been despatching their ships without wireless operators and this has been allowed by the Board of Trade in utter violation of law. But what is law to these huge corporations when it interferes with their profits and their chance of beating down their employees.

Jardine Sees "Bright Future."

FORT WORTH, Tex., March 11—Secretary of Agriculture Jardine in a speech before the Cattle Raisers' Association predicted a bright future for the farmers and cattle growers. He pointed out that there are 9,000,000 less cattle in the United States than in 1920. The cattle raisers merely shook their heads and declared that it would be a "bright year for the bankers, but not for the farmers and cattle raisers."

Across the front of their office, which thousands of mill workers pass daily, is a huge oilcloth sign with large letters protesting against the doubling up and the speed-up system in Lawrence as well as Passaic—against the wage cuts, long hours, night work, etc.

Plans are being made to hold mass meetings in Lowell, Maynard and other textile centers.

Newark Labor Defense Aids Passaic Strikers

NEWARK, N. J., March 11.—At a large meeting held here under the auspices of the International Labor Defense, \$179 was collected for the relief of the striking Passaic textile workers.

At the beginning of the collection Bishop Brown, who spoke on Evolution and Revolution, announced that he would contribute dollar for dollar to the relief of the textile workers. Carpenters' Local No. 782 contributed \$25 at the meeting.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Benjamin Gitlow spoke at the meeting showing the condition of the strikers and the need for relief. Gitlow brooked the need for the workers to organize the International Labor Defense and ended with an appeal for the workers to join the International Labor Defense.

The Newark International Labor Defense is planning to canvass Essex county in order to aid the striking textile workers.

SEND IN A SUB.

SHUT UP—LOOK AT THE FACTS!



By William Gropper.
The workers are disgusted with the slanderous campaign of the Daily Jewish Forward against a trade union delegation to Soviet Russia.

YELLOW SOCIALIST FORWARDS AIDS BOSSSES IN ATTEMPT TO BREAK FUR WORKERS' STRIKE

NEW YORK CITY, March 11.—The Jewish Daily Forward has been caught instigating a conspiracy to break the furriers' strike. It has as helpers all the black forces of the Kaufman machine, which have turned agents for the bosses. The conspiracy was discovered by one of the strikers and reported to the strike committee.

A scant caucus for breaking the strike was held in the office of the International in Long Island City where the representatives of the Forward submitted plans of breaking the militant fight that the furriers are carrying on to force the demands of the strikers.

The plans of the strike-breaking Forward which were submitted to the Kaufman machine, who are now acting as agents for the bosses are as follows:

1. That the Forward shall print in its strike-breaking sheet that the workers are dissatisfied with the strike leadership.

2. That the well known gang leader, Beckerman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, shall supply the slugs and gunmen to come to the mass meetings of furriers, slug and beat the strikers and blame it on the strike committee under the pretense that gangsters are slugging non-strikers.

3. That the international shall take over the leadership of the strike under the leadership of H. Sorokin, the well known figure of the strike of 1920 whom the fur workers know has embezzled over forty thousand dollars for his private use.

4. That all the funds of the furriers' strike committee shall be attached until an investigation would be made by the courts.

Bosses to Pay Fancy Sum.

5. That the Fur Manufacturers' Association shall contribute \$100,000 for this conspiracy.

The plans were to be submitted and approved by the bosses' agents at a meeting held in Union Square hotel where the conspirators met the bosses' agents. The meeting was held and the plans were approved by both elements. A collection was made for immediate expenses, which amounted to \$160.

No sooner was the conspiracy discovered than the strike committee took action and thru the Freiheit uncovered the whole plot which the strike-breaking Forward and the black elements of the Kaufman machine, the Sorokin, the Wings, the Beggars and a few others had concocted.

Workers Disperse Yellow Forward.

The workers are enraged over the strike breaking role that the yellow Forward which calls itself a working class paper is playing. Instead of helping the fur strikers, it tries to break the strike, and drive them back to work under the dangerous conditions that they are now fighting against.

Some of the strikers were so enraged that they went to the office of the Forward to protest. There they found Sam Cohen and Stetsky, who are now out of the fur industry and who were seen conferring with A. Weckstein & Son, holding a conference with A. Cahn, editor in chief of the Forward, working out further plans for breaking the furriers' strike.

The workers are enraged over the strike breaking role that the yellow Forward which calls itself a working class paper is playing. Instead of helping the fur strikers, it tries to break the strike, and drive them back to work under the dangerous conditions that they are now fighting against.

No conspiracies of the Forward and other black elements of the labor movement can break the militant strike that the fur workers are carrying on.

Crews of 50 Trawlers Lost.

VIENNA, Austria, March 11.—Fifty trawlers with their crews were sunk off the Dalmatian coast during a terrific gale. On shore a passenger ship was overturned and many passengers seriously injured. The Italian freighter Seeno was shattered on the rocks of Spalato Harbor. Half its crew perished.

BACTERIOLOGIST CLAIMS SECRET OF GENERATION

Ohio Scientist Says He Created Life

(Special to The Daily Worker)

LORAIN, Ohio, March 11.—J. F. Mazur, a young bacteriologist here today claimed he had discovered a method of producing living cells, something most scientists contend cannot be done. Mazur announced he has not only been successful in producing life artificially by mixing chemicals but has also created some of the higher plants and animals.

If accepted as facts by the world of science, his discoveries will revolutionize the science of biology and upset the theory of evolution, Mazur said. He is now making arrangements to submit his claims to a body of biologists.

According to Mazur, life is only a chemical and mechanical phenomenon and arises spontaneously out of the elements of the earth.

Has Produced Living Snails.

In his home laboratory where he has been experimenting, making tests and working out formulas for five years, Mazur said he has produced 12 different forms of life, including snails, and an unidentified species of weed, besides 16 varieties of living cells. Mazur asserted he has made 5,000 snails in three different experiments. "The snails" said Mazur, "are natural in every respect even to reproducing themselves."

Easy to Create Life.

The process for the production of the artificial snails is comparatively easy, except that it takes three months to complete Mazur stated. To explain it in simple language, he said he treated synthetic albumin with calcium carbonate, allowing the mixture to absorb carbon dioxide gas from decaying vegetable matter.

U. S. Backs Catholic Priest.

MEXICO CITY, March 11.—United States Ambassador Sheffield has effected a "satisfactory" settlement with the Jalapa authorities over the threatened arrest of F. J. Krill, an American Catholic priest. The state department at Washington brought pressure to bear to keep the godolologist on the job.

Get your tickets now for the international concert of the T. U. E. L. Sat., March 13, at 8th St. Theater.

Little Red Library
NUMBER SEVEN.

The

Damned Agitator

and

Other Stories



By MICHAEL GOLD

10 Cents

THE DAILY WORKER
PUBLISHING CO.,
1113 W. Washington Blvd.,
CHICAGO, ILL.

Trade Union Educational
International Concert
Saturday Evening
MARCH 13

8th St. THEATRE
corner 8th and Webster Sts.

Program

Freiheit Singing Society
and Mandolin Orchestra,
National Scottish and Irish
Dancers, Sam Lain, Russian
Ellie, Robert Minor, Lydia
Gibson (Something new),
Margarite Lewis, pianist,
Lithuanian Singing Society.

Admission, 50 cents, 83 cents and \$1.10
(including war tax.)

Tickets can be secured at 156 W. Washington St.,
Room 37; The DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington
Blvd., and from all members of the T. U. E. L.

Organization Meetings

Workers (Communist) Party

Social Affairs Resolutions

Language Fractions and Work in the Fraternal Societies

By MARTIN ABERN.

COMMUNIST fractions are being formed in all language fraternal organizations, workers' clubs, cultural societies, sport clubs, etc. What is the purpose of the Communist fractions in them? Essentially, the same work must be performed in them by our Party members and fractions as our fractions perform in the labor unions, central labor councils. Naturally, the organizations and ideas prevailing within these language fraternal bodies is somewhat different in form than in the unions, but the problem before us is basically common.

In all these organizations our party members, thru the fractions, aim to develop a Communist ideology among the membership. That is not so easy done as said. These organizations are strongly rooted with the idea of "no politics" in their sick and death benefit, social, etc., organizations. Actually, we know that they are sorely infested with capitalist ideas and methods; mixture of the European habits and culture plus the crude Babbitt-like prosperity feeling of the Americans. The fraction must systematically endeavor to smash these "no politics" or capitalist politics ideas in these organizations, and bring "workers' politics" into them.

What shall the Communist fraction and members, concretely, bring into these associations?

The fraction shall endeavor to have lectures regularly by representatives from various working class organizations, political parties, unions, cooperatives, etc. Debates should be encouraged; these offer good opportunity for our comrades to discuss the vital issues before the working class. These organizations have speakers often before them.

LARGER WORKERS' SCHOOL TO BUILD FOR MASS PARTY

Need to Train Members in Communist Theory

By ELLA G. WOLFE, Instructor in the Workers' School. NEW YORK, March 11.—"Comrade teacher, every time I come to school I have to stand up. I can't study standing up." This complaint came from a young Greek furrier in the Elementary English Class. Hardly were the words out of his mouth when a young, enthusiastic sweater operator called out, "A fine Communist you are, complaining because you have no seat. Come over here. I'll give you my seat." "I'll stand up, I don't mind it." Similar instances have occurred in other classes.

It is true that more than half of the students of the Workers' School are Communists, but it is also true that it would be very much easier for all students to study if they all had comfortable chairs to sit on, decent blackboards to write upon and adequate lighting to facilitate studying at night after a long, weary day's work.

There never has been a period in our movement as important as the present for the building of a large Workers' School. Such a school is the source from which will come the future leaders of our Party, theoretical leaders, practical leaders, for the Workers' School is forging Marxist, Leninist theory and practice into one harmonious whole. The school teaches all our students that to really understand the theories of Lenin and Marx means to be able to apply them to the daily struggles in the trade unions, in strikes, in lockouts and in all the other mass movements.

In the textile strike of Passaic our students are doing practical militant work—in the halls, speaking and on the lines, picketing. Our students are assisting in the present strike of the furriers with research work, speaking and picketing.

The reorganization of our party on the basis of shop nuclei is preparing the way for the building of a militant mass movement in this country. It means that the leadership of our Party can no longer be restricted to a small group at the center, but every organizer of a shop nucleus must become a leader. Our party leadership must be increased by hundreds.

There is only one place where our membership will learn intelligent leadership—in The Workers' School!

Comrades! We must bend all our energies to the raising of funds to build such a school!

Remember! This is the final week for a larger and a better equipped Workers' School. Help Build it, and then use it!

Let our slogan be:

A larger Workers' School for the building of a mass party in the United States!

SPORTS IN PITTSBURGH.

A conference of various sports bodies is being arranged for Pittsburgh, which will organize the Workers' Sports Movement of that city.

Circulate the Party Press.

2. No doubt the language press of our Party circulates among these language organizations. But still, systematic effort to increase the circulation among the members is not made by all our language fractions. All the members of the fraction must be held responsible for reaching the membership with subscription appeals. If possible, the organization should be gotten to subscribe for the entire paper accepted as the official organ of that organization. Bids for financial assistance for the press can be made. If our comrades are on the Executive Board of these organizations, the work becomes easier. Not only should this work be done for the language press, but this shall also be done as much as possible for the English press, particularly, the DAILY WORKER. In this way the general outlook of the membership can be broadened from the Communist viewpoint. Party literature, language and English, should be sold regularly in these clubs, leaflets distributed. The fraction should have a live literature squad for this purpose.

3. The work being performed by the International Labor Defense on behalf of class war prisoners should interest easily these organizations. The Party gives full support to this non-partisan organization of workers' defense. Hence our fraction must bring I. L. D. and its purposes before the language organizations; endeavor to have the fraternal organization affiliate to the I. L. D., send delegates to the I. L. D. committee and pay its per capita. Further, however, our fraction must try to draw the members of these bodies into the I. L. D. as individuals, active members, and not be satisfied with only organization affiliation. Collections, contributions, etc., can be urged for the defense work.

4. Our fraction must try systematically to bring up general labor and political problems into these bodies. Graphically before the Party language fractions, especially, is the Party campaign for the Protection of the Foreign Born. This arouses wide mass interest, and this campaign can develop a vast mass protest everywhere against the continued encroachments of American capitalism and government against the workers and specifically the foreign-born workers. On this issue our fraction can easily get before the organization with our speakers, leaflets, papers, propaganda, and urge organization of the Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born. Thus, too, the Communists demonstrate to the workers in these societies that they are not mere cranks, with pet theories, but are the ones who take the lead in the struggle for defense of the elementary needs of the workers—in this case, protection against aggression, defense of political rights. If our fractions are really on the job in this campaign they should be able to establish themselves firmly in the fraternal organizations and gain respect and confidence of the membership.

5. Then, too, there is the question of a Labor Party in America as first steps taken politically for protection of the workers as a class. This issue must be propagated. Soviet Russia no doubt has a hold among large sections of the members. Our fraction must present the issue, not only of recognition, but also of defense of the first workers' republic.

6. Generally it is the mass of foreign-born workers that are unorganized into the labor unions and who are engaged in the basic industries of America. Organization of the unorganized into the labor unions must be propagated, as means of defense and offense in the struggle for more wages, better working conditions, less

hours of work, and also as a weapon in the struggle against discrimination against foreign-born workers by the government, as exemplified in the pending finger-printing, registration, deportation bills before Congress. Further, the need of closer fraternalism and solidarity between the colored and white workers must be propagated. Against any form of race discrimination is one of our slogans.

Organize the Fraction in Every Organization.

7. Our language fractions shall also deal with the special problems of each fraternal organization, in relation to its internal life, relations to the mother country, and so on. Our fractions, with intimate knowledge thereon, must work out a program of activity and policy.

There are, of course, many more problems and issues which the fractions can bring forward, but these will do for a start.

However, further, each fraction shall meet regularly before the meetings of the fraternal organization to lay out its work for the meeting. The fraction shall also elect a steering committee to be responsible on the floor of the meeting for the proper carrying out of the work.

What Greased the Wheels.

"No bill favored merely by the churches, whether Methodist, Catholic, or others, or by such a motley crew as the anti-saloon league, or by just the plain people, would have obtained such prompt consideration from our legislative organization," Father Ayd explained.

TRUSTS PASSED VOLSTEAD BILL, STATES PRIEST

Measure, Smoke Screen, to Stop Inquiry

(Special to The Daily Worker)

BALTIMORE, March 11.—That the Volstead act was passed at the instigation of the steel and oil trusts was the statement made here at a luncheon of the local Knights of Columbus branch by the Rev. Joseph A. Ayd, professor of sociology at Georgetown University.

"Both these combinations, the United States Steel corporation and the Standard Oil Company," Ayd declared, "decided to wipe out the liquor business in order to divert public attention from the threatened federal investigation of their methods and monopoly control. Only by such powerful backing as these trusts were able to furnish was it possible, the speaker asserted, to secure the widespread publicity which preceded the passage of the act.

What Greased the Wheels.

"No bill favored merely by the churches, whether Methodist, Catholic, or others, or by such a motley crew as the anti-saloon league, or by just the plain people, would have obtained such prompt consideration from our legislative organization," Father Ayd explained.

March in the month of the glorious Paris Commune and the new issue of the Young Comrade naturally tells the inspiring story of the first workers' government that was set up by the heroic Paris workers. The bloody revenge taken by the bestial French bourgeoisie on the defeated Commune points to the necessity for all militant workers uniting in a strong organization of proletarian defense—the International Labor Defense. The story of the I. L. D. is told to the working-class children in this country in this issue of the Young Comrade and the children are made to realize what an important institution this organization is. There are stories of the white terror in other lands and of the persecution of militant workers in this country.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

It would be impossible to recount all the attractive features of the new issue of the Young Comrade. No working-class child should be without it! Every worker should consider it and his children to provide them with the March Young Comrade and with a subscription that will supply them with this splendid children's paper every month thereafter.

Young Comrade without longing impatiently for the next installment. By far the largest part of this issue— even more than last month's—is written by the children themselves. The section devoted to the school is



a true reflection of the life and struggle of the working-class children in the school. More space than ever is devoted to it in the March issue.

Another striking feature of the Young Comrade is the Puzzle Section that was introduced to the thousands of Young Comrade readers two or three months ago. This month's section contains a few of the dozens of really splendid answers to last month's puzzle picture as well as some new puzzles for this month. More than ever before this Puzzle Section promises to be popular with the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

It would be impossible to recount all the attractive features of the new issue of the Young Comrade. No working-class child should be without it! Every worker should consider it and his children to provide them with the March Young Comrade and with a subscription that will supply them with this splendid children's paper every month thereafter.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received in his shop, suddenly jumps astride his thoughts and rides forward straight among the Indians of thousands of years ago! No child will be able to read the beginning of this story in the March issue of the working-class children.

This issue also sees the beginning of one of the best and most interesting stories for children that has ever appeared—"Jimmy Rides His Thought Horse Thru the Ages!" The story tells of a twelve-year-old boy who, sick and feverish from an injury received

SECOND PRIZE WINNER. TEXAS COTTON WORKERS TOIL FOR LOW WAGES

Organize and Demand
Better Conditions!

By CHUNKY BILL.
(Worker Correspondent)
HOUSTON, Texas, March 11—In the vicinity of Houston, farm hands receive \$25 a month producing the annual cotton crop.

The worker is hired thru the city employment bureau. After being thoroughly investigated by the mediators between the plantation owners and the workers, the worker at once puts a kink in his back and leaves it there till the crop is picked.

He is automatically converted into a "rag", the moment the crop is harvested and remains so till it is sold to the pleasure of the boss to tell him that he may work again which is next planting time. The average wage for cotton pickers is \$1.50 a day.

The Cotton Gins.

The workers in the cotton gins extract the oil from the cotton seed and convert the residue into cotton seed cake and meal. The season is very short and the mills work in two shifts of twelve hours each. The wage is 25 cents an hour both for the day and the night shift. The majority of the workers lose one hour going to work and one hour coming from work so that they really put in fourteen hours for \$3.00. Five months is the average season. The worker works in a continual rush for \$3.00 a day; the remainder of the year he lives again on the "halo" shed from the flag of prosperity.

The Cotton Warehouse.

Big husky guys who have passed the company's rigid examination are employed in the cotton warehouse. They juggle 500 pound bales of cotton all day long.

While it is true that they get a comparatively large wage for their 10 to 15 hours of labor, (35 cents an hour and no overtime) there is a reason for it. They know that to hold their jobs, they have to keep up with the company speeders. The season is short and they must save enough during the five months to exist on till the next year. In the event of their failing in this frail hope, they will have to reform again and be "saved" for the tenth time at the Star of Hope Home.

Longshoremen Are Organized.

The employees at the warehouse work harder and handle more cotton in one day than the longshoremen belonging to the International Longshoremen's Association, Local No. 896, yet the longshoremen gets \$10.50 a day and works eight hours or less while those in the warehouse work 10 hours for \$3.50. The bosses will give the workers nothing until the workers begin to organize and demand more. Even then if we are not careful they will try to make us satisfied with minor concessions.

We must be militant. We must organize and demand better wages.

DITCH DIGGERS REVERIE.

By a Worker Correspondent

The alarm clock rings at 5 a.m. Then I work ten hours or more. I sweat until my shirt is wet. And earn three dollars or four.

Saturday comes, I draw my pay: My wife pays some of our bills. We are not alone, for an hour or so, Then we're clean, as the wind-swept hills.

Now, there's guys that's got a lot of Jack.

And fellas with plenty of coin, Two men that's got massive galleys, And birds with money to burn.

There's snobs that wade in currency And dudes with dough that's more.

But I can't get hold of the tinkling tin. The I work while the rest of them sing.

This world may be a fine old place And it's easily hard to complain. But I'm sick of the rain—just a rainy day. Or a life-long lasting rain?

To hell with their Coolidge prosperity. It's moonshine without a kick.

I believe it's right, what they called me last night. I am a Bolshevik.

Teachers' Union Against Board.

It was reported that the Teachers' Federation at one of its best attended meetings of the year pledged its fullest support to the dismissed teachers in obtaining a trial to present their case, which is required by the board regulations. The board ignored its own regulations that no teacher can be dismissed by the board without a fair trial, if she has worked in the Minneapolis school three years.

Now, there's guys that's got a lot of

Jack.

And fellas with plenty of coin,

Two men that's got massive galleys,

And birds with money to burn.

There's snobs that wade in currency

And dudes with dough that's more.

But I can't get hold of the tinkling tin.

The I work while the rest of them sing.

This world may be a fine old place

And it's easily hard to complain.

But I'm sick of the rain—just a rainy day.

Or a life-long lasting rain?

To hell with their Coolidge prosperity.

It's moonshine without a kick.

I believe it's right, what they called me last night. I am a Bolshevik.

THE WINNERS

The winner of the first prize, the original of a DAILY WORKER cartoon, framed, is a worker in the Bethlehem Steel Mills, in Bethlehem, Pa. His article appears on this page.

The second prize, Marx's Capital, Volume 1, goes to a Texas cotton worker, Chunky Bill. His article describing the life of the cotton worker appears on this page.

The third prize, "China's Awakening" by James H. Dolson, goes to a Chicago militant trade unionist who has outlined the struggle in the trade unions against reactionary leadership. His article appears on this page.

Next Week's Prizes

First Prize—An original DAILY WORKER cartoon by one of the noted American Communist artists, Robert Minor, Fred Ellis or Lydia Gibson.

Second Prize—"Social Forces in American History" by A. M. Simons. New edition just issued by International Publishers. This book gives the best economic interpretation of the origin and growth of the American nation.

Third Prize—"Lincoln, Labor and Slavery," by Herman Schlueter, the only book on Lincoln from a revolutionary standpoint.

IS THERE EQUALITY OF EDUCATION FOR THE WORKER UNDER CAPITALISM?

By D. BENJAMIN, Teacher Correspondent.

One of the boasts of modern capitalism and American democracy is "universal and free education for all, for rich and poor alike." Judge for yourself whether or not this boast is a sham and a hypocrisy, from the following story of a New York boy.

John is 18 years old, a former student of De Witt Clinton high school. He is of working class parents, who barely manage to eke out a living, although they toll long hours.

John is a student in high school, had only about three months to go in order to receive his diploma. To be able to go to high school, he worked nights at a Y. M. C. A., for his parents could not afford to keep him at school otherwise. His working hours were usually from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. every day. Homework for school robbed him of sleep; he never got to bed until early in the morning. Very often, after a hard evening's work and homework late at night, he found it physically impossible to get up in time for school and he was late. Sometimes, he was too exhausted to even attend. So this worker's son, this worker, became a truant in the eyes of the educational authorities.

The school system could not understand this working class situation.

The father was summoned to school. But he could not afford to stay away from work in order to visit the school. Something had to be done. The boy, in an innocent way, to get rid of this truant trouble caused by his situation, signed a doctor's name to a slip of excuse for absence.

He was found out. John was expelled. To American capitalism, to the American school system, John was not a boy struggling for an education amidst many difficulties, and hardships, but he was only a forger, a cheat, a thief. Expulsion was not enough.

The school authorities immediately notified the Y. M. C. A. where the boy was working, that John was a forger. He was fired—branded for life as a "forger."

John does not think there is equal opportunity for education and development for the rich and the poor. He wonders where is this much land American freedom and opportunity.

The present school board is predominantly reactionary and is thoroughly antagonistic toward any progressive idea or practice. They must have sensed that the two teachers in particular who were members of the Teachers' Federation would be an obstruction to some reactionary policy that is to be put into effect, so they took steps to remove them.

Aside from passing the resolution the Central Labor Union instructed the executive board to follow up the matter and be prepared for any new developments.

Send in that sub!

The Worker Correspondent on the Job



Today, when you come home from work, get your pen and paper and write a story about your shop for The DAILY WORKER.

The Barber Worker

By M. PERLIN.
(Worker Correspondent)

To learn the barber trade, it takes at least from three to five years, and after the barber passes his examination, gets his barber license, joins the union and gets a job, he must not fail to please his boss.

Every customer is a boss because if he does not please every customer he will soon get fired. The result is that the barber whom many consider progressive, is really more backward than many other workers.

The customers who come in before closing time must be attended to. Many times a barber is forced to work an hour or two overtime without getting paid for it.

Because of these long hours the barbers have no social life. A proof of this is the fact that when local union 548 of which I am a member, and which has a membership of over 3,000 meets, you cannot find more than 70 or 75 members including the officials. For this reason the leaders of the union can do as they please.

At the end of 1925 the barbers' union expelled all progressive members. They took them off their jobs and now they are forced to work in open shops, and no one mentions their names at the meetings.

"A Fine Weapon, Comrade!"



"It Will Serve You As Well As Mine."

THIRD PRIZE WINNER.

Revolutionary Activity in the Trade Unions

By JOSEPH R. BOOTH.
(Worker Correspondent)

All class conscious workers must recognize the absolute necessity of staying within the unions in spite of their backwardness. This necessity has fully been demonstrated by the hostile attitude on the part of the reactionary labor officialdom to expel progressive elements.

Bureaucracy Fights Progress.

The labor bureaucracy want no fighting opposition within that throws light on their betrayals of the workers thru class-collaboration, labor separation and by their opposition to amalgamation, world trade union unity and other important progressive measures.

The policy of leaving the unions was due to the fact that the performing of this big task was left just to a

handful of scattered and separated radicals. Therefore the progressives must form a force to meet the big problems in an organized way.

The unions offer the most fertile field for developing the class-consciousness of the workers because they take part in the everyday struggles of the workers. By gaining the confidence of the organized workers we can point to them the real role of the exploiting bosses with their press, politicians, preachers, police-militiamen, judges and fake labor leaders.

Workers Must Keep Up the Fight.

The workers must soon realize that the entire brutal system of capitalism is responsible for all of their suffering. The unity of the workers means the death blow to the labor bureaucracy and the establishment of revolutionary leadership to show them the

way out. Therefore an energetic campaign must be waged to strengthen the unions.

We find that in addition to the great number of our fighting comrades in the unions there still exist among us the following elements:

1. The kicker who lets others do the fighting while he very liberally contributes to the kicking.

2. The pessimist claiming it is impossible to accomplish anything with the "working stiffs."

3. The ineligible, that on the mere ground of being kept out of the unions refuses to do anything to further the cause of unionism.

A strong effort must be made to have all members active in the union. Unorganized workers, it is your duty to join and be active in the unions in this country and make them real militant organs of the class struggle.

Unemployed Workers Have Hard Time at State Job Agency

By a Worker Correspondent

I have been one of the hundreds who have gathered at the State Employment Bureau, Jefferson and Monroe, every morning seeking some kind of a job. Conditions were such that the men looking for work gather in front of the door at 5:30 in the morning and wait until 8 o'clock, when the office opens.

If you don't get there early chances are against you of getting some kind of a job, because the moment they open up there is a grand rush for the entrance to get lined up inside in front of a little desk where they dish out the jobs.

There are two small desks in different parts of the spacious room.

There is room for about five to eight men in front of each desk, and if you are not among the first few you are out of luck.

They have a card system they use.

Every time you get a job they stamp the back of your card. You are entitled to only one job a week. If the job only lasts four hours of one day, as most of them do, that is your quota for the week.

The men handing out the jobs assume a defiant and hostile manner and do all they can to make life disagreeable for the unemployed worker.

Why a worker correspondent? Why not? Is there nothing of interest happening around you? Write it up and send it in!

The more you'll write the better you'll like it.

HUBIG DRIVERS TO FIGHT WAY BACK TO UNION

Thank Daily Worker for Its Co-operation

By a Worker Correspondent

CINCINNATI, March 11.—The drivers of the Hubig Pie Company wish to express their thanks to the DAILY WORKER for aiding them in their struggle to unionize the places and receive justice from their business agent.

At the last meeting of the Drivers' Union the agent came to the meeting with a copy of the DAILY WORKER in his hand. When the membership demanded an explanation he said that the drivers of the Hubig Company would not pay any more dues unless the union called them out on strike and paid them \$25 a week strike benefits.

This was a deliberate falsehood, but as there was no one present who knew the real situation he temporarily got away with it. But the drivers are determined to fight this case to a finish and will carry the matter higher.

They will fight their way back into the union and force the company to grant them union conditions and wages in spite of the business agent, Jacob Hesselbrock.

SEND IN A SUB!

Applicants Sting Shoe Scab Herder

By a Worker Correspondent

PHILADELPHIA, March 11.—Mr. Bains, a very windy gentleman connected with the J. Miller and company shoe store at 1235 Chestnut St., is hiring scabs to take the place of striking wood heel makers at the Miller manufacturing plant in Long Island City, New York.

The advertisement in the local papers state that there are no labor troubles on. Mr. Bains, on being questioned, however, admitted that there was "some trouble." He explained: "We had some radicals in the place but they were discharged and cannot get their jobs back."

To the ten men who had answered the ad, he handed out \$3.25 each, with the injunction to "Get the first train over to New York." They took his money but went instead to a nearby luncheon room where they all enjoyed the finest breakfast they had ever known. That is as far as they got. Miller's plant in Long Island City never saw them.

"The pen is mightier than the sword," provided you know how to use it. Come down and learn how in the worker correspondent's classes.

WORKER

CORRESPONDENCE

What? Where? When?

Why? How?

BY WM. F. DUNNE.

A handbook for the worker who wishes to learn HOW to write for the workers' press. A new publication that should be read by every

THE DAILY WORKER

Published by the DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.
1118 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Phone Monroe 4713

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
By mail (in Chicago only): \$8.00 per year \$4.50 six months \$2.50 three months
By mail (outside of Chicago): \$8.00 per year \$3.50 six months \$2.00 three months

Address all mail and make out checks to
THE DAILY WORKER, 1118 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois

J. LOUIS ENGAHL, Editors
WILLIAM F. DUNNE
MORITZ J. LOEB, Business Manager

Entered as second-class mail September 21, 1923, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

200 Advertising rates on application.

The Priesthood in Mexico

Just as the bourgeoisie of Europe in its revolution was forced to suppress the power of the church which was one of the main bulwarks of feudalism, so the Mexican revolution had to meet the same problem and solve it in a similar fashion.

Feudalism and peonage is the most fruitful soil for the superstition of Romanism. The sinister, scheming, depraved vultures of the church thrive in such an environment. It is their special mission to utilize their power acquired thru fraud and violence to prevent the light of intelligence piercing the feudal night. The ten thousand years' dark ages in Europe were recapitulated in a few hundred years in Mexico.

The Mexican constitution stipulates that the member of holy parasites be limited to a certain degree according to the population; that the church property be nationalized and that the church only use it so long as it obeys the law; that the state and church be separated completely and that no priest engage in political activity but confine himself solely to the business of "cloud pushing" and rainbow chasing (if people want to pay for that sort of thing that is their affair); parochial schools are forbidden.

Under feudalism in Europe the church owned two-thirds of all the land; in Mexico they owned three-fourths and were the chief feudal exploiters. The Mexican church laws are essential if all remnants of the feudal system are to be destroyed.

With the feudal system falling before the national bourgeois revolution the "never changing" church looks around for some other power to serve for itself. From agents of the feudal barons they become agents and spies for Wall Street. Added to the priestly crew are protestant missionaries of American finance capital. The Mexican laws prohibit foreign religionists preying upon the Mexican people. That is their privilege and when the plunderbund of the United States grows indignant over the legislation against the ambassadors of ignorance it is interfering in a situation that is none of its business.

Intelligent people will refuse to join in the Wall Street inspired clamor against Mexico because it chooses to enforce its own laws against a horde of vicious parasites. And we Communists, as the vanguard of the working class, will support to the best of our ability the efforts of Mexico to be free to enforce its decrees against the priests and preachers who are in Mexico to help place the yoke of imperialism upon the workers of that nation. We hope to see the day that the Mexican people drive out every agent of Wall Street, whether he wears the garb of the priest or the soldier, and exterminate root and branch the institutions they represent, thereby continuing the bourgeois revolution until the proletarian revolution is realized—in other words, for Mexico, the permanent revolution in the Marxian-Leninist sense.

A Titled Socialist

Lady Cynthia Mosley and her husband, Oswald, while visiting this country to aid in settling certain capitalist court claims involving her grandfather's estate, so that she may continue to live off the exploitation of labor, spent part of their time visiting the few remaining headquarters of the branches of the defunct socialist party and posing for their pictures before the cameramen of the press.

Neither of them have the slightest conception of socialism and being dilettante bourgeois neurotics they react to the struggles of the workers in the most superficial, romantic, poetic fashion. They visited coal mines and got a thrill out of having their pictures taken, washing the coal dust off their aristocratic fingers while posing before the inevitable camera. Their utterances contained nothing more than the most insipid banalities. After seeing the misery of the working class they have nothing better to offer them than the spurious socialism of the fabians which completely ignores the class struggle.

In New York their grand limelight tour was climaxed with a meeting under the auspices of the socialist party at Cooper Union, which was attended by but 400 of the remnants of that discredited yellow outfit. So dead is the socialist party that not even titled "socialists" press agented by the whole capitalist press can evoke a sign of life.

It is to be hoped that the lord and lady get a proper trimming by real working class candidates in the regions in which they "stand" for parliament, so that they will be relegated to the ranks of the royal rubbish where they belong, instead of trying to befuddle the working class with their sloppy sentimentalism.

Arthur Brisbane assures the readers of the Hearst press that big business must not fear the higher wages won by the building trades workers in New York City, because "capital will find all the money coming back to its coffers." Brisbane says:

"Masons, plasterers, bricklayers, carpenters, spend what they get."

They spend what they get because they must in order to provide themselves with the necessities of life. Capital holds the gun, the high cost of living; that forces the workers to return to capital everything they earn in wages.

Get the Paris Commune Edition!

Be sure to get your PARIS COMMUNE EDITION of THE DAILY WORKER next Saturday, March 13. The NEW SATURDAY MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT of that issue will contain the famous article of Lenin, "THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP"—published for the first time, we believe, in the English language. Written in July, 1905, in the midst of the stirring revolutionary events of that year, the article shows the master hand of Lenin who, more ably than any other except Marx himself, could draw the lessons from the great event of Paris and apply them in the real life of his own time. Don't fail to get the next edition of the Daily Worker Saturday Magazine.

The Miners' Union Must Fight for the Miners!

By JACK JOHNSTONE.

THE betrayal of the anthracite coal miners by the Lewis administration cannot be judged by itself as an isolated act committed by leaders who had misjudged a situation. To get the proper perspective, so as to understand correctly the magnitude of the crime perpetrated upon the miners, particularly, but against the working-class as a whole, we must look back over the few years that Lewis has been president of the United Mine Workers of America.

When we trace the misdoings of John L. Lewis since he became president, we see that this latest act was the climax of a series of betrayals that have demoralized the fighting miners' organization and gradually reduced it to a mere appendage of Wall Street.

FIRST, what was the situation in the anthracite, did the situation warrant a retreat from the original demands put forward by the tri-district convention, and if so, were the miners in such a defective frame of mind, that it was necessary to accept such an outrageous agreement. Let us analyze the entire situation.

There is no question that after nearly six months of bitter struggle the miners' conditions were very bad, but the morale of the strikers was excellent, they were in a fighting mood. Out of 155,000 strikers not one had deserted the ranks, nor was there a single thought expressed about going back to work.

Coupled with this strong fighting spirit of the strikers, the labor movement was rallying to their support. True the support was only moral and financial, but this was the immediate need of the strikers. At the time Lewis was signing the agreement, machinery was being set up that would have fed, clothed and housed the miners for an indefinite period.

It can be said, that in spite of the privations suffered by the strikers, the day on which this black agreement was signed, they were stronger, more militant and willing to fight, more united in purpose than in any other period during the strike. Not only that, but the persistent efforts of the progressive miners were bearing fruit, the miners, slowly but surely, were becoming conscious of the class nature of the struggle.

The three district grievance committees had consolidated their forces, they gave official expression to the day of warning to the Lewis machine that the miners would not stand for a settlement less than the demands of the tri-district convention, they were just beginning to establish themselves, as the leading strike committee. Then came the betrayal. This was the strategic moment for Lewis to commit his vile deed; if he had waited two weeks or a month, it could not have been accomplished, at least not so quietly.

THE uninformed will say, if it was the purpose of the Lewis administration to serve the coal operators why did they not sign the agreement without going thru such a heartbreaking strike. In the first place a strike could not have been avoided, the miners in convention made demands and these could not be abandoned without at least pretending to struggle for them. Second, the anthracite miners had some confidence in the leadership of Lewis, this was his only stronghold in the entire coal mining field. (It is no longer.) Third, this is an old maneuver of Lewis, call the miners to strike, starve them into submission or maneuver in such a

way during the strike so that a situation will arrive that will enable him to sign the union up with an agreement suitable to the coal operators. Fourth, there were millions of tons of stock coal on hand. This assured the coal operators the retention of the market at an inflated price.

This is a damaging statement to make. To substantiate it, let me present the evidence submitted by Lewis' first lieutenant, Frank Farrington presented at a time when the ambitious Frank flirted with the progressives in the hopes that he might supplant John Lewis as international president of the United Mine Workers of America.

In a series of letters between Farrington and Lewis from November 2, 1922 until November 22 of the same year, the corrupt inner workings of the Lewis administration were exposed in all its crude nakedness.

Frank Lewis, then became president, and immediately appointed Lewis as international vice-president.

Hayes, a weakling, soon became putty in the hands of the cunning Lewis. In 1919 Hayes resigned and for so doing received a year's salary in advance and Lewis stepped into the position he now holds, without ever having been elected to a single office in the mining union. This in itself is remarkable and more than suspicious, but it is what Lewis has done since becoming president that stamps him as the most dangerous influence in the American labor movement.

Briefly it is: When he stepped in as president, the miners' union was the most militant and best organized section of the labor movement. Lewis no sooner stepped into office than he deliberately and methodically began to stamp out all militancy and bring the entire organization under his iron

remembers, or should remember, the betrayal of the Fayette county non-union miners who had come out to a man at the call of Lewis, the signing of separate agreements for the anthracite and bituminous fields.

This gave the coal operators a breathing spell which they have taken advantage of. The Jacksonville agreement further demoralized the miners and gave the coal operators the time necessary to move the big bulk of their mining operations from the union to the non-union fields, a process which is still taking place and when the Jacksonville agreement expires, they will be able to close down the union mines almost completely and complete the demoralization of the union in the central competitive fields.

Following the 1922 betrayal, Lewis and his lieutenants carried on a terrific reign of terror against all opposition forces in the union. MacLachlan was removed as President of Nova Scotia miners. Tom Myerscough, Duncan McDonald, Freeman Thompson, John Watt, Tom Parry, are only a few of the many that have been removed from office and expelled from the union. Pat Toohey, Joe Angelo and others have been suspended and the skids are prepared for them.

The record of the Lewis-Farrington machine is so black that it is almost impossible to point out the blackest spot. The police, the courts, the K. K. K., the state, the coal operators, gunners and slingers have all been used by these leeches against the interests of the miners. This was brought out in broad relief in the Zeigler trials, where Henry Corbinley, the fighting progressive president of Local 922 and his equally militant colleagues are being railroaded to the penitentiary for, from one to ten years, on a framed-up charge of conspiracy to murder. This was accomplished thru a united front between the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, the K. K. K., the coal operators and the state.

THESE are but a few of the misdeeds committed by the Lewis-Farrington administration. The purpose of signing a 5 years' agreement in the anthracite is to tie the hands of the miners leaving the coal operators free for five years to weed out the progressives and carry on a guerrilla warfare, demoralize and if possible, destroy the miners' union.

This is a black picture, but it is the situation that must be faced. How can it be met, what must the miners do to retrieve their lost position and bring back the union to a militant organ of struggle. This is indeed a hard but not a hopeless task, it is one that will test the courage of the miners.

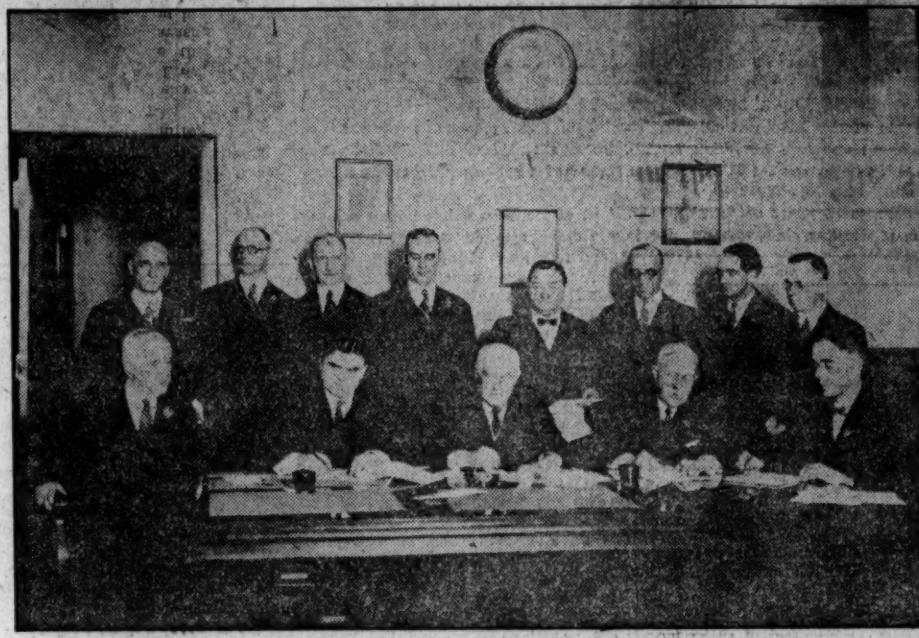
IT is easy for progressives to fight when winning the battle, the real test of the class conscious worker is made at just such black periods in the development of the labor movement as confronts the miners today. There must be no retreat. Pessimism must not be allowed to enter. The graves that surround the coal mines of this country are a mute testimony of the grim struggle that took place to establish the United Mine Workers of America. The punishment meted out to the Howats, Thompsons, etc., the long term of imprisonment given to the Zeigler miners, are living testimonies of the struggle that is taking place to make the miners' union a fighting organization. The progressive miners must rally their forces. In the name of those unknown heroes who died for the cause, in the name of those who have been specially picked out for punishment by the Lewis-Farrington machine, in the name of the betrayed miners and their families, the struggle must go on until the control of the union has been taken out of the hands of these men and the union made to function as it was intended as a working class organization, fighting in the interest of the miners.

He expelled Howat from the union while he was in jail fighting the Kansas industrial court law. Placing the district under a provisional government the membership declined from 11,000 to 7,000.

Under his leadership, the fighting Nova Scotia and Alberta miners were deserted, the influence of the Lewis administration being thrown towards the coal operators instead of the miners, with the result that these two districts are running on an open shop basis.

HIS first great betrayal, however, was the 1922 coal strike. The manner in which this strike was settled has been the basis since of all the sufferings endured by the miners and their families. Here we saw for the first time the hard and soft coal miners, union and the non-union, standing shoulder to shoulder in a great struggle. As a fighting unit, they were unbeatable. Only thru treachery was their hard fought victory turned into defeat. Everyone

The Betrayal Conference at Philadelphia



Above are pictured representatives of the miners' union and of the operators at the actual signing of the five-year plan by which the betrayed miners were forced to return to their posts. Sitting, left to right are: Thomas Thomas, general manager of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co.; John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers; Alvan Markle; W. W. Inglis, president of the Glen Alden Coal company; James A. Gorman, secretary of the anthracite board of conciliation, and U. B. Warriner. Standing, left to right are: A. M. Fine, C. J. Golden, George B. Hadesty, Philip Murray, Andrew Matney, E. H. Suender, Thomas Kennedy and Rinaldo Cappellini.

THE letters have been made public, that followed, he took away the autonomy of Districts 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29 and 30. Some of these districts are completely out of business and others are mere skeletons of their former

bound dictatorship. In the struggle that followed, he took away the autonomy of Districts 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29 and 30. Some of these districts are completely out of business and others are mere skeletons of their former

membership to his present position of president. His rise in the miners' union was through the back door. It was common knowledge in 1916 that Al Hamilton, a scab coal operator, boasted that he was going to make John L. Lewis the president of the miners' union. So they are official, authentic and in their own and not my language.

The letters are too long to reprint.

The main points of exposure were,

that Lewis in a board meeting accused Farrington of entering an agree-

ment to allow the Lester strip mine in

Herrin, Illinois to operate during the

strike. This made Farrington throw all caution to the wind and in

a letter of nearly 3,000 words to Lewis, dated November 22, 1922 he accused him of the following:

1.—That Lewis had received a large

sum of money from the Kansas coal

operators to get rid of Alex Howat

as president of the Kansas miners.

2.—That Lewis and other officers

had collected \$100,000 from the

coal operators in Kentucky for permission

to run their mines during the strike.

3.—That instead of borrowing \$100,

000 from the Harriman Bank of New

York, Lewis received \$750,000 and

that three members of the Harriman

Bank directorate are operating non-

union coal mines in Pennsylvania and

that the \$650,000 which the public

never heard of, was kept by Lewis

and his associates with the under-

standing that the support of the union

would be withdrawn from the striking

workers in the non-union coal fields

of Pennsylvania.

Farrington completely exposes the

strike maneuvers of Lewis. On this

question we will quote that entire sec-

tion of his letter, because of its direct

bearing upon the anthracite strike. I

list it here as number four, it is

numbered as the second indictment

of Lewis in the Farrington letter.

4.—Second: An influential oper-

ator, with whom I happen to know

you had dinner during the month of

December, told me that you told him

that you believed the mine workers of

the country were going to be obliged

to take a reduction of wages after the

first of April and that you implied

that in order to enable you to escape

responsibility for the reduction a

strike was to be called on the first

The New Magazine

Supplement of THE DAILY WORKER

Robert Minor
Editor

Second Section: This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in The DAILY WORKER.

SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1926

•290

"Tear Bombs and Gas Masks"



No, this is not a scene from the Paris Commune! Fred Ellis, the talented cartoonist of The DAILY WORKER, shows here a scene from the every-day life of the striking textile workers of Passaic, New Jersey, United States of America. One of the horrible weapons of the World War is being used against the workers—TEAR BOMBS are being thrown at the strikers by the bosses' police on the streets of New Jersey's towns! Some of the pickets, veterans of the "War for Democracy," have put on GAS MASKS to protect themselves from the poisonous fumes. This is an omen of the future.

Lessons of the Paris Commune

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

ON the eighteenth of March of every year, regular as clock-work, the social-democratic parties of the Second International remembered the Paris Commune—much as they might remember a flood, or a festival, or the birthday of one of their leaders. Anniversary mass meetings were held throughout Europe, at which the speaker of the evening repeated the story, especially re-learned for the occasion, of the seizure of the cannon on the heights of Montmartre, the ringing of the church bells, the spontaneous outpouring of the National Guard, the violent death of Thomas and Lecomte, the election of the Commune, the delayed sortie against the Versaillais, the activity of Thiers' spies, the stealthy entry of his troops into the undefended southwest end of Paris, the barricades, and the terrible butchery at the mur des federaux—the "same old story," as it came to be known. With few exceptions, the social-democratic leaders made no serious attempt to analyze the Commune in its relation to the development of the class struggle. They were, in fact, bewildered and embarrassed by the great proletarian tradition of 1871, which did not seem to have a place in their world of parliamentarism; they limited themselves to contrasting the ferocity of the Thiers reaction with the "generosity" and leniency of the Communards. The one lesson they drew was that the principle of "democracy" had been vindicated in the elections to the Commune, held March 26.

Only the anarchists kept alive in some measure the spirit of the Commune, tho of course, they followed Kropotkin in presenting it merely as a step toward the creation of an autonomous system of "free communes." In the United States it is not too much to say that the Commune was ignored except for the purpose of tableau and theatrical entertainment. Sometimes the Socialist Party was too busy even to remember the date.

"Marx, however," as Lenin pointed out in his work on The State and Revolution, "was not only enthusiastic about the heroism of the Communards—'storming heaven' as he said. In

the mass revolutionary movement, altho it did not attain its objective, he saw a historic experiment of gigantic importance, a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, a practical step more important than hundreds of programs and discussions. To analyze this experiment, to draw its lessons in tactics, to re-examine his theory in the new light it afforded—such was the problem as it presented itself to Marx."

Immediately upon the fall of the Commune Marx presented his Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, now known as The Civil War in France, which is not only a passionate defense of the Commune, but an analysis of its historical significance, its accomplishments and the mistakes that were responsible for its final defeat. Lenin calls attention to the important fact that the only "correction" which Marx thought it necessary to make in the Communist Manifesto was made on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the Paris Communards.

"The last preface to a new German edition of the Communist Manifesto signed by both its authors," Lenin reminds us, "is dated June 24, 1872. In this preface the authors, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels say that the program of the Communist Manifesto is now 'in some places out of date.'"

"Especially," they continue, "did the Commune demonstrate that the 'working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends.'"

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first attempt of the workers to break up the bourgeois state and to transform existing society. Despite the element of vague republican sentimentalism, it was essentially proletarian. At the very beginning, on March 20, the Journal Officiel declared:

"The proletarians of the capital, in the midst of the failure and treason of the governing classes, have realized that the hour has arrived for them to save the situation by taking over the direction of public affairs. The proletariat, in the face of

(Continued on next page—page 2)

LESSONS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

(Continued from page 1)

the permanent threat to its rights, of the absolute refusal of its legitimate aspirations, and of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, understood that it was its imperative duty and absolute right to take its destiny into its own hands and ensure victory by seizing power."

In form the Commune was a dictatorship, notwithstanding its superficial aspect of democracy. True, a general election was held, but this was after the rich bourgeoisie had either fled to Versailles, or gone into hiding and was, for all practical purposes, disfranchised. The Commune showed clearly as much in its failure as in its success, that a dictatorship is necessary to destroy the opposition of the bourgeoisie. How long this transitional period of dictatorship would have to last was not fully appreciated by Marx or Engels, or by Lenin. The experience of 1871 was too limited to indicate. It required the experience of the Russian Revolution to show that the dictatorship of the proletariat is, indeed, an entire epoch.

II.

THE lessons of the Commune of Paris fall naturally into two main categories, the general, the tactical. The most important general lessons have already been referred to. Others that must be mentioned are the following:

a. The Commune, like every great revolutionary upheaval, showed more clearly than before the essentially repressive feature of the state, as well as its class basis. It is precisely this that makes it necessary to break up the bourgeois state, to "shatter it" as Marx says, before a proletarian rule can be established.

b. The Commune revealed the inner rottenness of bourgeois nationalism. Prussians and Versaillese, who a few weeks before had been facing each other on the battlefield, co-operated freely in the struggle against the Parisian proletariat. The Commune in its turn was international in its outlook. Not only did it admit foreigners to citizenship, some of them (as for instance Leo Frankel) being active Communards, but it proclaimed the universal fraternity of all labor and spoke in the name of the "Universal Republic."

c. The Commune showed that, with the development of an independent working class, every bourgeois revolution places immediately upon the agenda the question of the proletarian revolution. This had already been faintly indicated in the struggles of 1848-50, especially during the February and July days when the independent demands of the working class were really the central point at issue. In 1871 the fall of Napoleon III found the rich bourgeoisie unable to stabilize its own revolution thru fear of the proletariat, which thereupon seized power. In a much more conclusive way this lesson is confirmed by the more recent revolutions in Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary. Who can doubt that the Japanese revolution, when it comes, will reveal the same phenomenon?

d. "The Commune taught the workers to consider concretely the problems of revolution." This is Lenin's phrase, and his own work is sufficient commentary upon it.

In glancing even briefly at some of the tactical lessons of 1871, we get a closer view of the historic uprising of the Communards. Tactics are not something apart from the medium in which they are applied; they are limited by and conditioned upon it. One readily recognizes that the mistakes made by the Commune may be explained by the conditions in which it developed, by the elementary stage of the evolution of productive forces, by the political immaturity of the proletariat as a class, the great lack of separate proletarian traditions, etc. Nevertheless, it would be foolish for a revolutionary party today to refuse to learn from those mistakes. Not to look at the Commune critically, to praise indiscriminately the good and the bad after the manner of religious enthusiasts, would be to spurn the greater part of our precious heritage of revolutionary experience.

The accomplishments and failings of the Paris Commune teach us the following:

a. Any "people's" revolution (involving the movement of real masses) places before the proletariat the problem of revolutionary alliance. Only because of the united front between the Parisian workers and a considerable section of the bourgeoisie was the Commune possible. This does not mean that the social composition of the Commune of 1871 was a correct pattern. Far from it. The workers dominated the alliance of all revolutionary elements but they were incapable, under the conditions prevailing, of securing unquestioned and complete control. Some of the reasons are given below. However, the Commune did show the importance of allies for the proletariat.

b. A not inconsiderable section of the lower middle class will follow the revolutionary lead of the workers. This was definitely proved by the experience of the Commune. It is scarcely necessary to add that such support will be much smaller under present conditions than in the Paris of 1871.

c. The Commune made the mistake of underestimating the importance of a union with the peasantry, altho as Lenin reminds us it was making its way toward such a union. This mistake was fatal in a country with a predominantly peasant population. Ephemeral revolutionary "communes" sprang up in some of the other cities of France but nevertheless Paris remained virtually isolated. The experience of the Hungarian workers' republic, in our own time, also shows us the importance of winning over the peasantry. The Bolshevik Party of Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, avoided the mistake made by the Hungarian comrades. Soviet Russia is a workers' and peasants' republic and the alliance with the peasantry is one of the foundation stones for the success of the first lasting proletarian dictatorship.

d. It is necessary not only to shatter the bourgeois state apparatus but to replace it with the workers' state—the pro-

letarian dictatorship. The Communards did break up the old machinery of bourgeois rule more or less effectively: They abolished the standing army and replaced it by the nation in arms, and they struck powerful blows against the bureaucracy by abolishing parliamentarism (in the sense of the old "talking shops") and by the decree lowering the pay of all state servants to the level of workmen's wages. But they failed to organize in a firm and centralized way the state powers of the workers. The state apparatus was loosely knit, under no uniform control and frequently in chaos. The basis of this defect, which cost the Commune dear, was that altho the Commune was in fact a dictatorship it was not a conscious dictatorship. Comrade Trotsky points out in his book on Dictatorship vs Democracy that the central committee of the National Guard, which was the sole governor of Paris in the early days, neglected to order an immediate march on Versailles because of the impossibility of holding elections with the flower of the proletariat out of the city.

"The central committee," says Trotsky, "appointed March 22 as the day of elections for the Commune; but, not sure of itself, frightened at its own illegality, striving to act in unison with more 'legal' institutions, entered into ridiculous and endless negotiations with a quite helpless assembly of mayors and deputies of Paris, showing its readiness to divide power with them if only an agreement could be arrived at. Meanwhile precious time was slipping by."

e. The Commune did not show sufficient energy and firmness in dealing with its internal as well as external foes. This mistake, in the failure to organize a satisfactory apparatus, was due to the fact that it was not a conscious dictatorship. The bourgeoisie, meantime was steadily at work preparing the downfall of the Commune. Events themselves finally forced the Commune to take its stand in principle on the path of intimidation. "The creation of the Committee of Public Safety," says Trotsky, "was dictated, in the case of many of its supporters, by the Red Terror." The committee was appointed "to cut off the heads of traitors" and "to avenge treachery." To stop the murder of prisoners by the Versailles, a decree was passed that for every prisoner murdered three hostages would be shot from among the anti-Communards remaining in Paris. The decree was not carried out. No prisoner or unarmed man was killed by the Communards throughout the siege from April 2 to May 23.

f. Most of all the Commune showed the need of a consistent revolutionary theory embodied in a strong, centralized, disciplined leading organization—the party of the proletariat. Insufficiency of leadership and program was the outstanding weakness of the Commune. The virtues and defects of Blanquism were plainly revealed. On the one hand it was shown what an important role can be played by a disciplined "militant minority" and on the other hand it was proved that this militant minority must have its roots deep in the masses of the working class, that it must be a party equipped with revolutionary science, that it must know the road along which it is to travel.

III.

AT the beginning of the present article I stated that the gentlemanly leaders of the Second International had devoted very little attention to the Paris Commune of 1871. In English, if we except Marx's Civil War in France, Engels' commentaries and the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, the only works worthy of consideration are Lissagaray's *History of the Commune of 1871*, Belfort Bax's *History of the Paris Commune* and the interesting but often misleading researches of Postgate. It is entirely characteristic of Kautsky, who, as Lenin pointed out, had neglected the Paris Commune, did begin to write about it in 1919, not to draw revolutionary lessons from it, but to attack Soviet Russia. In contrasting the Soviet regime with the Commune, Kautsky passes hurriedly over the virtues of the Communards in order to praise them for their shortcomings, which alas, he does not find exemplified in the wickedly successful Bolsheviks.

No! Our Russian comrades learned well the lessons of 1871. They fortified themselves in the revolutionary traditions of the Commune, but they did not repeat its mistakes as Kautsky hints they should have done. And while the Paris of the Commune was overthrown after scarcely two months of life, the Soviet power is already in its ninth year and is more firmly established than ever, which is the whole source of Kautsky's abiding woe.

Despite the defeats that are inevitable along the road, turning the experiences of its defeats into lessons for future victories, the proletariat of all countries advances towards its emancipation. "The Soviet power," said Lenin, "is the second step of the world revolution, the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Paris Commune is the first step."

To France of the Commune

RALPH CHAPLIN.

MOTHER of revolutions, stern and sweet,
Thou of the Red Commune's heroic days;
Unsheathe thy sword, let thy pent lightning blaze,
Until these new bastiles fall at thy feet.
Once more thy sons march down the ancient street,
Led by pale men from silent Pere Lachaise;
Once more La Carmagnole—La Marseillaise
Blend with the war drum's quick and angry beat.

Ah, France—our France—must they again endure
The crown of thorns upon the cross of gold?
Is morning here...? Then speak that we may know!
The sky seems lighter but we are not sure.
Is morning here...? The whole world holds its breath
To hear the crimson Gallic rooster crow!

The Boss Class Won at Brockton

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

THE outcome of the prosecution of Anthony Bimba, Communist editor of the Lithuanian daily, *Laisve*, of Brooklyn, New York, before the courts of the "open shop" shoe manufacturers of Brockton, Mass., was a victory for the labor-hating predatory interests of New England.

The enemies of the workers, with their church lackeys, the priests and the preachers, could have hoped for nothing better than the acquittal of Bimba on the blasphemy charge.

The Butler textile czardom, that covers New England with a blanket of black reaction, with its loaded judicial dice couldn't have called for a better decision than the conviction in the sedition case.

IT is well for the workers of the whole nation to understand this situation, which is a call for new struggles, both in the industrial field and in the realms of religious controversy, especially in New England, where the church has a stranglehold on great masses of the working class population as it feeds the multitudes with its repulsive narcotics to numb labor's brain against clear thinking.

The blasphemy statute still lives altho it has aged with the passage of 229 years, and dates back in its antecedents to the year 1646, only 20 years after the first white settlers set foot in New England. That is the meaning of the court decision, that recognizes no change altho the nation has swept thru a national revolution and civil war.

Bimba declared his belief that, "there is no god!" and challenged the court to convict him, which meant an appeal to the higher courts to decide whether the law still stands, or whether it should be stricken from the statute books.

The court rejected the challenge. It was easier and more convenient to find Bimba "not guilty" which permits the law to live undisturbed, at least temporarily. The court, Judge C. Carroll King, a unitarian, and the unitarian church itself denies the divine origin of Jesus Christ, thus placed its approval on this law handed down by the religious intolerance of the early 17th century. "Death!" was the penalty decreed in 1646, as shown in the reproduction in another column of the statute passed in that year. One year in prison or a \$300 fine and the acceptance of a gag to observe the law in the future, was the penalty imposed by the statute of 1697, also reproduced here. It was the statute of 1697 under which Bimba was tried. Only one conviction had been secured under it, that of Abner Kneeland, editor of the Boston *Investigator*, an atheist, sent to prison for 60 days in 1838, nearly a century ago. The Kneeland case decision was made by a divided court, Judge Carroll claiming that he sympathized with the minority decision. But he refused to permit the Bimba case to go to a higher capitalist court for its ruling in this century.

The result is that any Communist speaker in Massachusetts in the future may be arrested under the same statute on the flimsiest of charges. The church henchmen of the shoe and textile barons may invade any meeting and have the speaker arrested on the merest pretext that their god is being assailed.

IT was clearly brought out that Bimba, at Brockton, Mass., on Jan. 26, had no intention of discussing religion and the Communist attitude toward it. He came to Brockton to speak on "the white terror in Lithuania." It was in denouncing the "clerical-nationalist-socialist" government of that country, in exposing the crimes of the priests in imprisoning, torturing and putting to death workers suspected of radicalism or the slightest sympathy toward Communism, that he denounced the church and declared his belief that, "there is no god!"

Evidently the court concluded that if god had been outraged by Bimba's remarks, it was god in Lithuania and

Ask Death For All Blasphemers

Statute of 1646

Against Blaspheming Ye Name of God

"ALBEIT faith be not wrought by ye sword, but by ye word & therefore such pagen Indians as have submitted themselves to our government, though wee would not neglect any dew helpe to bring them on to grace, & to ye meane of it, yett wee compell them not to ye Xtian faith, not to ye pesson of it, either by force of armes or by poenall lawes, nevethless, seeing the blaspheming of ye true God cannot be excused by any ignorance or infirmitie of humane nature ye aeternall power & God-head being knowne by ye light of nature & ye creation of ye world, & common reason requireth earey state & society of men to be more carefull of preventing the dishonor & contempt of ye Most High God (in whom we all consist) then of any mortall princess & magistrates, it is therefore ordered & decreed by this Courte, for ye honor of ye aeternall God, whome only we worship and serve, that no pson within this jurisdiction, whether Xtian or pagan shall wittingly and willingly paume to blasphem His holy name, either by wilful obstinate denying ye true God, or repreach ye holy of God, as if it were but a politick devise to keep ignorant men in awe or deny his creation or government of ye world, or shall curse God, or shall utter any other eminent kind of blasphemy of ye like nature and degree; if any pson of psons whosoeuer, within our jurisdiction shall breake this law THEY SHALL BE PUTT TO DEATH. By Both Houses of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1646.

not in Massachusetts that had really suffered. The Bay State statute provides against anyone "contumeliously reproaching god." There was a court battle over the meaning of the word "contumeliously." The dictionary declares it means the use of contemptuous, abusive, rude and insolent language in an attempt to disgrace. The church itself, neither catholic, protestant or of any other creed came into court to charge that its god had been disgraced. All of the nine witnesses for the prosecution, with two exceptions, admitted they did not belong to any church. It was clear that the blasphemy charge had been brought in to bulwark the sedition complaint.

THIS case also brings to light the alacrity with which the local police in the factory cities hastens to the assistance of the reactionary elements in the foreign colonies. The Lithuanian colony in Brockton was clearly split on the conditions in the old country. The white guard Lithuanian government has its supporters in Brockton. It is opposed by the radical elements organized into the Lithuanian Workers' Literary and Educational Society. The Brockton police, prosecutors and courts threw all their support on the side of the white guard Lithuanians doing the work in this country of the terror in the old country. The prosecutor himself is Lithuanian by descent.

It is clearly evident that the situation growing out of the presence of the blasphemy law on the statute books must be bitterly fought. Meetings must be held at which the Communist position toward religion must be clearly and definitely stated. Prosecutions result, then the fight must be made to wipe this hoary survival of past centuries out of existence, or the New England mill barons be forced to admit that their capitalist government today insists on cringing servility to subsidized religion. Massachusetts adopted an amendment to its constitution in 1835 declaring the state separate from the church. The existence of the blasphemy law

Wealth and Want



They Always Attend the Dance Together.

means that the church is a part of the state and defended by it.

The prosecutor, a renegade Lithuanian Jew turned unitarian, stated the situation clearly when he declared that belief in god is the foundation upon which the government rests. "Destroy the belief in god and you destroy the government," he said.

That fight is still on!

THE sedition charge on which Bimba was found guilty grew out of alleged answers that Bimba is supposed to have made to provocative questions asked by interrogators purposely placed in the audience in an attempted frame-up. Every Communist speaker is faced with a similar situation. The foreign-born reactionaries are always on hand to champion the cause of reaction in the old countries and thus divide the workers in the struggle in this country. The employers could wish nothing better. The shoe bosses realized this in Brockton and subscribed handsome sums in support of the Lithuanian citizens' club, a nest of Lithuanian reactionaries, organized to fight the Lithuanian Workers' Literary Society, a nation-wide organization with thousands of members and an extensive book publishing business, striving to educate Lithuanian workers in this country.

The guilty decision against Bimba on the sedition charge is another indication showing that the employers do not intend to lessen one bit the effectiveness of this kind of legislation that exists today in 35 states. The state sedition laws, that came into existence immediately following the war, and which even the judge at Brockton admitted were out of date, will continue to be used in industrial disputes against the spokesmen of labor.

These laws have been declared constitutional in the Gitlow case in New

Law Defends God, Christ and Ghost

Statute of 1697

Under Which Bimba Was Prosecuted

"WHEVER willfully blasphemeth the holy name of god by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching god, his creation, government or final judging of the world, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ or the holy ghost; or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching or exposing to contempt and ridicule the holy work of god, contained in the holy scriptures, shall be punished by imprisonment in jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than \$300 and may also be bound to good behavior."

York, in the Whitney case in California, and in several other instances, while the Ruthenberg case, in Michigan, is now on appeal to the United States supreme court. The industrial czardom in Massachusetts is glad to use the Bimba case to have its sedition law also declared constitutional.

Bimba's lawyers have taken an appeal. The guilty verdict will be fought out in the higher courts. Labor in Massachusetts and throughout New England can and must be aroused to the danger of this insidious attack against them by their class enemies.

The employers triumphed in the decisions of their capitalist court at Brockton. The workers must struggle, thru unity and intelligent action, to overturn those decisions.

The Paris Commune and the Problems of the Democratic Dictatorship

By Lenin

This article was written by Comrade Lenin in July, 1905, and published in the "Proletarian" July 4. "Iskra" was in the hands of the Mensheviks, one of whose foremost mouthpieces was Martinov (who, some years ago, recognized his mistakes and entered the Communist Party.) It is curious to note that the Mensheviks were against participation in the revolutionary government together with the petty bourgeois revolutionists, and Lenin was in favor of it. The irony of history showed in 1917 that the Mensheviks participated in the fake revolutionary government and Lenin showed in practice what he had meant by his slogans.

THE position of "Iskra" on the question of the admissibility of the social-democrats taking part in the provisional government is one of the utmost confusion. In favorable circumstances there will be possible, even in the opinion of the disciples of Martinov, such a swing of the revolution, as will serve as an immediate preface to the grand social revolution, but the party itself, its will, its work, its plans, seems to be unprepared. "Have faith in god, but don't make mistakes yourself," says the proverb which aims to make religious fatalism less harmful. "Have faith in circumstances, in the processes of history," we say, "but don't make mistakes yourself!" Otherwise you will become an economic fatalist, but not a social-democratic revolutionist. In the resolution of the Menshevik conference, I read: "Only in one event should the social-democrats on their own initiative direct their efforts toward seizing power and keeping it in their hands as long as possible—namely, in the event that the revolution spreads to the foremost countries of Western Europe, in which conditions have already reached a degree of ripeness for the realization of socialism."

First of all, you unwillingly ask yourself: Is it possible to "direct your efforts" toward something without your own initiative? And second, suppose we turn this phrase about as follows: "Only in one event will the revolution in Russia spread to the foremost countries of Western Europe, even if the social-democratic labor party of Russia succeeds in seizing power and keeping it in its hands for a long time." If you are making suppositions, why not that? The maximum of energy is never harmful. But, by the way, nobody has spoken of the seizure of power by the party. There has been only the question of participating, if possible a *leading* part in the revolution,—at such a moment as the power will be in its hands (if such a moment comes) and when there will be attempts to wrest it away.

In connection with the question of the possibility and the permissibility of such a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, it is interesting to make some historical inquiry into the Paris Commune, which was a revolutionary power and made the revolution not only from below but even from above.

Was the Paris Commune the dictatorship of the proletariat? Engels' introduction to the third edition of Marx', "The Civil War in France," ends with these words: "In recent times the Philistines again began to display horror at the words, 'the proletarian dictatorship.' Would you know, worthy gentlemen, what this dictatorship is? Look at the Paris Commune. *That was the proletarian dictatorship.*"

But there are dictatorships and dictatorships! Perhaps this was the *real, pure*, proletarian dictatorship in the sense of the pure social-democratic make-up of its membership and the character of its practical tasks? Not at all. The conscious proletariat (and at that only *more or less* conscious), that is, the members of the International, were in the *minority*; the majority in the government was composed of representatives of petty-bourgeois democrats. One of the latest investigators (Gustav Eck) says it quite unequivocally. In the central committee of the national guard, for instance, there were 35 members and in all two socialists (that is, members of the International), but they (Varlin and Avouin) had great weight among their colleagues in power.

About that committee Lissagary writes: "Were the members of it well-known agitators? Social-

ists?—Not at all, all unknown names: petty-bourgeois, store-keepers, clerks." But in spite of that Varlin and Avouin entered such a committee. Later there also entered the committee Pindy, Ostyn, and Jourde. The "New York Workers Gazette," the organ of the International, wrote in an article of July 18, 1874, as follows: "The Commune was not the creation of the International; they are not at all identical, but the members of the International accepted the program of the Commune, at the same time broadening it out far beyond its original framework, for they were its most fervent and faithful defenders, for they understood its significance for the working class."

The "General Council," at whose head stood Marx, as is known, approved these tactics of the Paris Section of the International; in its manifesto it is stated: "Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our association should stand in the foreground." But our predecessors, the members of the International, did not wish to fuse themselves with the Commune, and all the time they defended their own *special* purely proletarian party organization. Eck writes: "The federal council of the International was able to maintain its delegates in the revolutionary government." An excellent proof of the individuality of the proletarian organization of those days in the participation of its representatives is the following invitation: "Next Saturday, May 20, one o'clock sharp, there will be an extra session of the federal council of the International Workingmen's Association. The members of the Commune belonging to the International are invited to be present. They will be expected to give a report on what position they have taken in the Commune, and what is the source, and the real nature of the differences which have arisen in it. A membership card is necessary for participation in the session." And a still more interesting document,—the decision of the extra session: "The International Workingmen's Association in its extra session, May 20, passed the following resolution: "After hearing the report of the members, at the same time members of the Commune, recognized their stand as one altogether loyal and decided to request them also in the future to defend with all their means the interests of the working class, and also endeavor to preserve the unity of the Commune in order to fight the more strongly against the Versailles. And moreover, the meeting recommends to them that they endeavor to obtain complete publicity of the sessions of the Commune and an annulment of the Paragraph 3 in its Manifesto, as incompatible with the right of the people to control the actions of the executive power, in this case the committee for the public safety."

Six members of the Commune took part in the meeting. Three sent excuses. March 19, Lissagary counts in the Commune twenty-five representatives of the working class, but not all of them belong to the International; the majority was then also of the petty-bourgeois.

This is not the place to tell the history of the Commune and the role of the members of the International in it. We mention only that in the executive committee were sitting Duval; on the finance committee Varlin, Jourde, and Beslay; in the military committee Duval and Pindy; in the commission on public safety Assi and Chaleine, in the committee on labor Malon, Frankel, Theisz, Dupont, and Avrial. April 16, at the new elections, there entered still more members of the International, (among them the son-in-law of Marx, Longuet), but there were in the Commune also open enemies of it, for instance, Vesinier. At the end of the Commune its finances were under the supervision of two highly talented members of the International, Jourde and Varlin. Exchange and labor were supervised by Frankel,—post, telegraph and mint and direct taxes were also administered by the socialists. But still the majority of the most important ministeries, as Eck remarks, were in the hands of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Also, it is altogether unquestionable that Engels, when he called the Commune a proletarian

dictatorship, had in mind only the participation, and even the ideological leadership, of the proletariat in the revolutionary government of Paris.

But perhaps the immediate aim of the Commune was complete socialist upheaval? With us, supposedly, there can be no such illusion.

But in fact, in the famous manifesto of the general council on the Commune, which was undoubtedly written by Marx, is said: "The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule." But the manifesto continues: "The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending, by its own economic agencies, they will have to pass thru long struggles, thru a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant."

All measures, the entire social legislation of the Commune, had a practical and not utopian character. The Commune realized what we call "the minimum program of socialism." In order to sum up just what the Commune accomplished, we will quote from Engels' introduction:

"On March 26 the Paris Commune was elected, and proclaimed on March 28. The central committee of the national guard, which had hitherto carried on the government, abdicated its functions into the hands of the Commune. On March 30 the Commune abolished the conscription and the standing army, and all military forces except the national guard, to which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to belong. It remitted all rents from October, 1870, to April, 1871, such rent as had already been paid to be applied to future quarters; and returned gratis all pledges of necessitous persons in the public pawnshop establishment (*Mont-de-Piété*). The same day the foreigners elected onto the Commune were confirmed in their functions, since it was declared "the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic." On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (240 pounds) a year. On the following day was declared the separation of church and state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes, as also the transformation of all ecclesiastical wealth into national property. As a consequence of this, on April 8 all religious symbols, dogmas, prayers—in short, "all things appertaining to the sphere of the individual conscience," were ordered to be banished from the schools, an order which was carried out as quickly as possible. On April 6 the guillotine was fetched out by the 137th battalion of the national guard, and publicly burnt, amid loud popular applause. On April 12 the Commune ordered the column on the Place Vendôme, which had been constructed by Napoléon I after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon, to be overthrown as a monument of national vanity and international jealousy. This was accomplished on May 16. On April 16 the Commune made an order for a statistical account of all factories and workshops which were not at work, and for the elaboration of plans for their utilization by and for account of the workmen hitherto engaged in them, who were to be formed into co-operative societies for the purpose, and, further, for the amalgamation of these societies into one great co-operative organization. On May 20 they abolished the night work of bakers, as also the register-office for procuring employment, which, since the second empire, had been the monopoly of certain scoundrels appointed by the police, exploiters of the worst kind. The matter was henceforward placed in the hands of the mayoralties of the twenty arrondissements of Paris. On April 20 it decreed the abolition of pawnshops as being incompatible with the right of workmen to their tools and to credit. May 5 it ordered the

new woman of the man of the Com Women for devotion a tered upon begining saving the

On Mar drive the women we determined the soldier an outcome

Nor did selves in the ver of bullets tounous would give the weak never lost with a f Many of barricade the can organized

The pa in the st chapters

In the to danger dren cou brances of mune ar stancem youth, a never be

The V blood ba ders tha the dep exception the yout

Would geois ha out all c and chi manner new sp entire b

as is its histi ced in perishe promise croakin future Obviou

"Wo be for of a n the gre minato nal pil priest It s quiry us, be resente with t govern circu that t Comm democ rying thi Paris takes not a gram, which sary fight slogan pract Russi word ship

Women

By I. STEPANOV.

A new type of relations between man and woman that made the woman into a comrade of the man certainly had great effects in the work of the Commune and in the defense of Paris. Women fought for the Commune with the same devotion as the men. The proletarian women entered upon the revolutionary scene from the very beginning—they played an important part in saving the cannon from the Prussians.

On March 18 when the attempt was made to deprive the national guard of its artillery the women were the first to raise the alarm. The determined fight of the women, their attack on the soldiers, helped materially in bringing about an outcome favorable for Paris.

Nor did the proletarian women spare themselves in the bitter struggles of April and May. In the very heart of the battle, amidst the rain of bullets of the Versailles, they would rescue the wounded, they would penetrate the most dangerous places and thru their heroic example would give courage to the tired and strength to the weak. In the most difficult moments they never lost their usual cheerfulness and brot many a fighter back to the struggle with a hearty word, with a friendly look, with a merry joke... Many of the women themselves fought on the barricades with guns in their hands or stood by the cannon. Entire battalions of women were organized.

The participation of the proletarian women in the struggle forms one of the most beautiful chapters in the history of the Commune.

In their devotion, in their heroic indifference to danger and death only the youth and the children could rival the women. In the remembrances of those who participated in the Commune are indelibly recorded instance after instance of heroism on the part of the women, the youth, and the children, the like of which has never been seen.

The Versailles realized this. And so in the blood bath they organized in Paris, in the murders that took place with or without "trial," in the deportations, and in the imprisonments, no exception was made in the case of the women or the youth.

Would it only have been possible, these bourgeois hangmen would not have hesitated to root out all of proletarian Paris with its men, women and children—the whole of Paris, with its new manner of life, with its new morality, with its new spirit that was a death-warrant for the entire bourgeois society.

destruction of the chapel erected in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI."

As is known, the Commune, partly because of its mistakes and extreme generosity, did not succeed in subduing the reaction. The Communards perished. But did they bring shame to or compromise the proletarian cause, as Martirov is croaking in speaking of the possibilities of the future revolutionary government in Russia? Obviously not. Marx wrote about it:

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminator's history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them."

It seemed to us that our little historical inquiry has not been without its lesson. It teaches us, before all, that the participation of the representatives of the socialist proletariat, together with the petty-bourgeoisie in the revolutionary government, is wholly in principle, and in certain circumstances a direct duty. It shows us further that the real task which had to be fulfilled by the Commune, was above all the realization of the democratic, not the socialist, dictatorship, carrying out of the "minimum program." And last, this reminds us that in drawing lessons from the Paris Commune, we should not imitate its mistakes (they did not take the Bank of France, did not attack Versailles, did not have a clear program, etc.), but its successful practical steps which hinted at the right way. It is not necessary to take the word "Commune" from the great fighters of 1871, not repeat blindly their every slogan, but carefully select programmatical and practical slogans, which apply to conditions in Russia and which are now formulated in the words, "The revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants."

The White Terror After the Paris Commune

By Lissagaray

ORDER rules in Paris! Everywhere ruins . . . corpses . . . bitter groans. The clang of the officer's sword rings impudently thru the streets. Everywhere soldiers; some exhausted by the slaughter sleep right out on the sidewalks; others are cooking their dinner and singing songs . . .

The Versailles emigres, those shameless mobs, are celebrating their victory. Since Wednesday they have been flooding the boulevards. See how these gentlemen throw themselves upon the convoys of prisoners! See how these ladies kiss the boots of these bloody soldiers! Outside of the coffee houses among thick crowds of women the officers are recounting their deeds and the others follow suit—invent the most wonderful fairy tales. One of them who has never passed beyond the Rue Montmartre tells how he himself shot down twelve of the defenders of Chateau d'Eau! Ladies gaze with contemptuous curiosity at the corpses that litter the streets. Playfully they poke them with their parasols . . .

"Liberated Paris" is handed over to the tender mercies of the four generals. The state of siege abolished by the Commune is again established. The army rules Paris!

After the battles of Sunday, May 28, the several thousand people made prisoners were taken to the prison La Rocquette. The head of the battalion stood at the entrance of the prison, examined each prisoner from head to foot, and boomed out, "Right! Left!" Right—that means the death penalty. No delay; the pockets of the condemned are immediately emptied; they are stood up against the wall and shot! No delay! Somewhere off on the side are two priests murmuring prayers . . .

In the period from Sunday till Monday morning 1,900 people were slaughtered in La Rocquette alone. The same massacre took place at the military school, at the Parc Monceau, at the Luxembourg . . . At Luxembourg the exhausted soldiers were no longer able to hold up their guns and so they had to fire with their rifles pressed hard against the bodies of their victims!! The walls against which the condemned were murdered are covered with thick chunks of human brain! The soldier-hangmen trudge deep in blood!

No words are wasted in these massacres! Some of the captured are brot before courts-martial with which Paris has been full since Monday. The members of these courts-martial are sitting quite at their ease, cigars in their mouths. The examination lasts a quarter of a minute. "You took to arms? You served the Commune? Show your hands!" If the behavior of the accused is

full of determination, if his face does not please them, the "court" does not even ask his name or profession. His case is not even entered in the records.

"He is dangerous! Now you . . ." That is all! And so on till all of the prisoners are "disposed of." Sometimes thru some capricious accident the judgment is, "Oh, he is an ordinary one . . ." and the prisoner is held for trial at Versailles. There are no acquittals! The "dangerous" ones are handed over to the military and taken to the barracks. There the gendarmes lock all gates, divide the masses of prisoners into groups, and fire right into them! It often happens that some who were only wounded would begin running about in despair and agony. The gendarmes would then start chasing these miserable ones and beat them down with the butts of their guns . . .

Scenes of a similar kind were enacted at the Polytechnic School, at the Dupleix Barracks, at the railroad stations, at the botanical gardens and elsewhere. In Luxembourg there was a little variation. The victims of the court-martial were first of all thrown into a long cellar resembling a sewer to which air could only enter thru some narrow cracks.

The officers held their court-martial on the third floor in a room full of traitors with the tri-color on their sleeves, with police agents, with privileged bourgeois . . . As everywhere, here also there was no investigation. After the sessions the prisoners were either returned to the cellar or they were immediately taken to the garden. There they were shot without the least ceremony. Here also the walls reeked with human brains; here also the soldiers walked ankle high in blood.

Not all, however, had the "good fortune" to be judged by the courts-martial. Many were simply killed in court-yards, on the thresholds of their houses, in the public squares . . . Bands of armed murderers roamed the streets led by savage traitors with the tricolor on their sleeves. The first passer-by who didn't please these bloody murderers was put under "suspicion" and finished up on the spot. Corpses . . . blood . . . groans!

TWENTY thousand men, women and children were slaughtered in those awful days. Thousands condemned to years of imprisonment and deportation! Seventy thousand women, children and old men left without any support or driven from France! Over one hundred thousand victims—such was the revenge of the big bourgeoisie for the two months' revolution beginning March 18!

The Organ of the Fat Boys

By John Bernard.

ARE there any workers still so gullible as to believe that the overgrown tapeworms who pose as American labor leaders, and who thrive and fatten within the body of organized labor, are not the deliberate, conscious agents of Big Business?

If there are any such workers, they will do well to spend an evening reading the February issue of the American Federationist. This is the official organ of the American Federation of Labor. President Wm. Green is its editor. Here are a few gems taken from his editorials. "In making investments members of trade unions should be on guard against non-voting classes as well as speculative values." This is probably good advice for fat-fakers with equally fat salaries, and will likely be heeded by the wiser ones who realize that their weaning time is not so far distant. But the real workers in making their "investments" must consider whether they can derive more strength from beans than from meat, because their wages are usually too small to invest in both.

TO the farmers he hands a lot of blah-blah about co-operative organization. He says: "Many business men and bankers realize the fundamental value of co-operative organ-

ization for farmers, and are helping to that end." This will be very comforting to the farmer who has been kicked off his farm by the banker who held the mortgage.

IN speaking of the loyalty of the striking anthracite miners, he says: "We honor the crusading spirit of the anthracite miners and pledge them unwavering support." Since Green wrote the above the strike has come to a close and these creatures of capital ran true to form. Their support was unwavering, but all in the interest of the operators.

FOLLOWING the editorials are various articles by economists, professors, and nondescript shysters in which the workers are given the "low down" on such matters as international debts, insurance, reducing the cost of production by the elimination of waste and various other subjects.

UNDER the heading, "The Fight Against Monopoly," the following drastic remedy is suggested: "The American people need to evolve a public policy to cope with it (monopolistic control) in order that the underlying population may have a semblance of protection."

OF course the customary snarl at the terrible reds is not missing. In this case it is a silly attempt to

discredit the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation on conditions in Soviet Russia. After a lot of rambling blather the sap who writes it arrives at the remarkable conclusion that instead of going to Russia to get the facts first hand, the delegation should have gone to the contemptible counter-revolutionist Abramovitch for their information.

IF, after reading the contents of this "organ of Labor," any worker is still undecided as to whether it is Big Business broadcasting, let him turn to the advertising section. Here he will find his old friend the enemy stripped of all disguise. Page after page of advertising, by whom? Well, here is a partial list of the most familiar ones: Standard Oil Co., General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Western Electric, Utility Security Co., Henry L. Doherty & Co., Investments, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Proctor and Gamble, and dozens of others.

FAR be it from us to disturb the serenity of those big, jovial, "labor" boys who are doing this work, but I can remember, back on the farm, when dad used to sort out certain hogs and move them to the fattening pen, we kids felt mighty sorry for them.

Chang-Tso-Lin, Manchuria and Japan

By KARL RADEK.

IN all probability the rule of Chang Tso-lin is at an end. His flight from Mukden means the loss of that basis upon which he had set up his power. This is not a defeat like that which he sustained in 1922, when he was beaten by Wu Pei-fu, or like that which Wu Pei-fu suffered in 1924 when he was beaten by the troops of Chang Tso-lin. In these two cases, both Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin advanced beyond the borders of the three Manchurian provinces and had attempted to seize possession of the whole of North China. Wu Pei-fu, however, had left the central provinces of China in order to make himself dictator of the entire country. After their defeat they both retreated to their provinces, and there reassembled their forces in order, after a short space of time, to begin the war afresh.

The recent defeat of Chang Tso-lin commenced in the same manner as that of the year 1922. Driven from Shanghai, he retreated towards the north. Here then commenced the new feature that characterizes his defeat, simultaneously with the collapse of his basis, there occurred the mutiny of Kuo Sun-lin.

What does this mutiny mean? It became possible thanks to the regrouping of the material and moral forces among the troops of Chang Tso-lin. A part of his soldiers had been exposed to the influence of the atmosphere of Shanghai and had become unreliable. The provisions and supplies which were to have been despatched to Manchuria proved to be insufficient. The generals whom Chang Tso-lin had been able to gather round him during the eight years of his rule in Manchuria became convinced that the policy of Chang Tso-lin constitutes a danger to the ruling clique in Mukden.

THIS situation rendered possible the mutiny of Kuo Sun-lin. Kuo Sun-lin does not differ from Chang Tso-lin as regards political opinions. But it is not the opinions of Kuo Sun-lin which are of importance in estimating the situation, but the fact that Kuo Sun-lin, or some other general who succeeds Chang Tso-lin, can no longer base himself upon a resistless Manchuria and upon the apparatus which Chang Tso-lin has created by many years of work.

In this sense we are faced with a great change in the situation in Manchuria, which at the same time means a change in the fighting forces of China.

Whence did the rule of Chang Tso-lin originate, and what does it mean? Chang Tso-lin is usually represented as being a leader of the robber bands of Manchuria, who, with the assistance of the Japanese, has seized power and conducted a policy in the interests of Japan. This is the view that is commonly held; but it does not take into account the far-reaching changes which have taken place in Manchuria during the last twenty years. The construction of the East China Railway and the Russo-Japanese war constitute the reasons why this most backward province of China has become one of the most advanced parts of the Chinese state from the point of view of economics. The influx of Russian money, which was followed by an influx of masses of people who had to be fed, gave a powerful stimulus to the development of agriculture in Manchuria. In 1923 Manchuria produced 534 million puds of food-stuffs, of which 390 puds were consumed in Manchuria. The export from Manchuria amounted to 124 million puds in 1923.

THIS export—wheat, beans, soy beans, oil cake—which goes to Japan, America and Europe, is the basis of the industry which supplies commerce and agriculture in Manchuria. The huge number of modern equipped mills, factories and banks which undertake the purchase and export of products, the commercial apparatus, which has been set up in Manchuria—all this has completely changed this province. These conditions have created the class of commercial bourgeoisie, that basis upon which Chang Tso-lin relied for support.

During the Russo-Japanese war,

Chang-Tso-lin was as a matter of fact the leader of a division of Hunhuses, fighting against the Russian army. After the war he entered the service of China and became the chief of the Mukden division. Chang-Tso-lin took advantage of the decay of the state apparatus of the Manchu dynasty, ousted the two military governors of the two northern provinces of Manchuria and united the power in his hands; whilst during all these years he employed the money obtained from the country in order to develop its commerce and industry. He became one of the chief shareholders of the Japanese bank in Manchuria. A considerable portion of the mills and export undertakings belong to him. His attempt to penetrate beyond the Great Wall and to subject to his influence the province of Shantung, as well as Tchili along with Peking, constitutes a combination of the personal efforts of the military clique and of the young commercial bourgeoisie of Manchuria to extend their rule beyond the frontiers of the three Manchurian provinces.

AS, apart from the proletariat engaged in the coal mines and on the railways, there are no working masses in Manchuria, the basis of Chang Tso-lin was fairly secure. The commercial bourgeoisie, everywhere and at all times, supported the absolute power which aimed at extending its sphere of influence. The general staff of Chang-Tso-lin held in its hands the full administrative power over Manchuria. The limitation of the power of Chang-Tso-lin was not due to the population, but to Japanese imperialism. After the Russian defeat in the Far East, Japanese imperialism obtained possession of the Southern Manchurian Railway, introduced its troops into this territory in order to protect the railway and, taking advantage of the world war, began to oust from North Manchuria the Russian bourgeoisie which, until the war, had imported 60 per cent of the manufactured goods, 100 per cent of the petrol, 75 per cent of the sugar and 70 per cent of the tobacco into this territory.

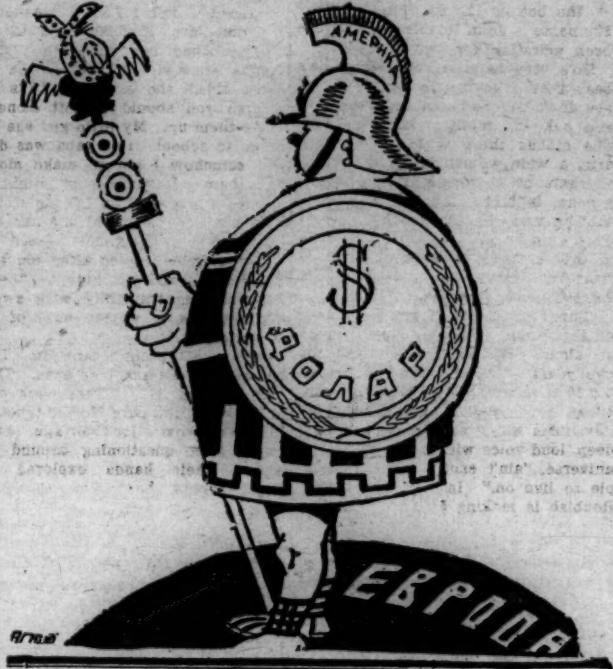
THIS cessation of Russian exports in Manchuria, the cessation of the influx of Russian capital, facilitated the attempt of Japan to take possession of this territory. As she could not do it openly, for fear of America, Japan supported Chang-Tso-lin as her tool. But in supporting him she attempted at the same time to dictate her will to him. The troops of Chang-Tso-lin were trained by Japanese instructors. The Japanese attempted to penetrate into all branches of the Manchurian administration, and desired at the same time to seize possession of Mongolia in order to threaten Chang-Tso-lin's possessions not only from the south, but also from the north and west.

The home police of Chang-Tso-lin and his dependence upon Japan rendered more hopeless every month his efforts to play a role throughout the whole of China. The democratic movement is growing in the whole of China. It finds expression not only in the Kuomintang party, but also in a number of independent organizations of intellectuals and of the working class (organizations of teachers, physicians, engineers and workers), in a great movement to improve the elementary schools, to set up a system of people's high schools, and in the women's movement.

THIS movement is weakest in Manchuria. The mere fact of the existence of a great number of Russian and Japanese traders in Manchuria prevented the formation of a broad, compact Chinese bourgeoisie. Manchuria was the most backward province of China from a cultural point of view. It therefore lacks a broad mass of intellectuals which is so characteristic of the remaining parts of China. The proximity of Siberia, with its civil war, strengthened the reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie.

As a result of all these conditions, the rule of the generals in Manchuria was more obvious than in any other part of China. For the mass of the

The Watchman of the World.



This cartoon from the "Proletarska Pravda" of Kiev, Ukraine, shows America as the Roman guard, his shield made of the dollar, standing watch over Europe.

people in China, Chang-Tso-lin became the symbol of the rule of reaction. The open arbitrary rule of the Japanese in Southern Manchuria made Chang-Tso-lin, in the eyes of the masses, a tool of Japan. His efforts to seize possession of Northern China in order to advance into Central China, was regarded by the masses of the people as an attempt on the part of Japan to obtain possession of China. Thus, Chang-Tso-lin, in his endeavors to play a role in all China, encountered greater opposition than anybody else.

THIS defeat of Chang-Tso-lin renders Japanese imperialism, for whom Manchuria represents a very tasty morsel, very nervous. If Manchuria, with a population of 12,000,000 millions, is able to export more than 100,000,000 poods of wheat, that is one-fifth of the prewar export of Russia, what could it supply with an increase of population? The increase in the population of Manchuria is very great. Northern Manchuria is 30 per cent larger than Germany. Hundreds of thousands of peasants in China are striving to emigrate to Manchuria. In the event of war, Manchuria would be able to constitute a basis of supplies for Japan. It also contains considerable coal beds. From this point of view the fear of the Japanese imperialists regarding Manchuria is perfectly intelligible.

But Manchuria does not play a separate role in Japanese policy: it is at the same time a bridge to China. China is in need of foreign capital.

Thanks to her familiarity with Chinese conditions, Japan possesses enormous possibilities of development on the Chinese mainland, which, in the event of international complications, would secure her not only the assistance of Manchuria, but also that of China. But these possibilities cannot be based exclusively on bayonets. Japan

cannot venture on a war with America and China at the same time, China, driven into the arms of America, would in the future find the strength to annihilate Japan. Hence, the liquidation of the Chang Tso-lin clique confronts the Japanese government with the all-important decision: Will its

policy be directed towards winning the friendship of China, towards co-operating with those elements which desire to create an independent China, or will it be directed against China?

In the latter case this would mean the final defeat of Chang Tso-lin and the beginning of the complete defeat of Japan in the Far East.

No Bloodshed—No Violence!

By HENRY ROENNE.

ONLY no bloodshed, comrades, no violence please,
That is the bestial way Liberals call wrong;

Better the way our "Christian" masters follow,

The way that makes the killing slow and long—

This is the human way to keep men humble,

To stop mere slaves from dying with a song,

This is the way to keep their backs bent over,

The way to keep the power with the strong.

AND till the crisis comes, remember

We have no arms, no sword of any kind—

Yet sharp is every bayonet against us,

The bullets from each rifle are quite blind.

But even should the soldiers join us, comrades,

Yea, even should an arsenal we find,

O better far to die obedient bondsmen

Than live as bloody freemen unresigned!

FOR if we die as grateful vassals, comrades,

We'll enter into heaven all aglow

And play nice harps forever with the angels

And never mind the slaves we left below;

While if we knock our masters from their perches

There's no real telling to what hell we'll go!

And when it comes to picketing hell or heaven—

It should be heaven every time—you know!

The Outside Agitator - By Mary Heaton Vorse

(From the Textile Strike Bulletin, Passaic, N. J.)

THERE is an outside agitator at the bottom of the Passaic strike. His name is John Roubish and he has been agitating for two years.

He's been agitating ever since he's been born. He is two years old. If you don't believe he caused the strike you ask his mother, Mrs. Roubish. She stands there with him on her arm, a wide woman, a thick woman, a whale of a woman, just a grand woman, in fact. She has to be like that because she has eleven children. This outside agitator, John Roubish, is the youngest. There's a girl of fourteen who is the oldest of the eight children at home.

"Sure," she says, "I got to support all these kids. I got to support them all alone. My man's been dead for two years. Yes and I've got to pay \$26.50 a month to the building loan. What do I make? I make \$17.50. Seventeen fifty," she proclaimed in a deep, loud voice with a gesture to the universe, "ain't enough for nine people to live on." In real wages Mrs. Roubish is making \$11.55. She lives in a very nice house. It is the result of twenty-three years' hard work. Twenty-three years ago as a bride of sixteen she came to this country. For twenty-one years Roubish worked hard. In this time she had eleven children. They managed to buy their house. He died. God knows how she manages to keep this house, but she does, this strong, powerful woman. She is bound to keep it. She has a fine cook stove. It is grey enamel and nickel. There is only one thing the matter with that cook stove. There isn't one thing in that house to cook on it. Nor there wasn't before the relief workers got there. She stated it as a fact.

"A woman alone with eight kids, she don't get credit long. First they gave me something, now they only give me mean looks.

"Sure I'd go out on the picket line. Sure I'm on the picket line every day from five o'clock. I got to win my strike. You look at my baby. You see how strong he is; he's a big fellow." The agitator looked calmly at us with large blue eyes. He smiled in a secret way to himself. He was an entirely serene person. "I want to keep my baby like this. The nurse, she comes, she says, 'You want your baby strong, you give him orange juice, milk, fresh vegetables.' I do like what she says. If I wasn't to eat nothing but bread I'd get for him an

orange to make him strong. I want my children to get it better than I get it. That's what we strike for. When they cut us ten per cent we got to strike." For \$17.50 is nine-tenths of what Mrs. Roubish used to get. They docked her one-tenth. "That means an awful lot when you got eight kids," she explains. "It's bad enough you should be left alone to bring them up. My little girl she had to go to school. Her papa was dead and somehow I got to make money for them. I worked at night. I worked a long time on the night shift. Now she's fourteen and she can stay home. I work daytime. I tell you work daytime is good after you work night shifts and got kids too." She explains this tranquilly with sweeping gestures, a woman sure of her strength.

A few of the eight came in. They had red cheeks and blue eyes. Their hair was pale gold. They were what is known as the pure Nordic type and they were whales for their age. Their eyes swept questioning around the room. Their hands explored the empty bread box. She threw at them:

"All right, all right. By and by I'll get you something. You run out now and play. Right off I'm going to the store. You go and play in the yard!" There was a tiny yard in front and one behind. But yet the yard and house was just as clean as a pin, no confusion, no litter, nice things, plain things, clean paper on the shelves, glasses that shine. Not an extra thing, but order and cleanliness, giving a sense of peace that amounted to luxury. Did you ever try to keep things spick and span when there were eight children from two to fourteen? How did she do it? She moved calm and majestic with the agitator always on her arm. Someone said:

"You're lucky to have a house."

"I got to have a house," she answered and she laughed. "What do you think they say when I go to try and hire a place when I say I've got eight kids? They say, 'Just beat it.' Do you have many cases like this?"

The relief worker was asked.

"Oh, this ain't nothing," he answered. "This is a fine case. These folks aren't poor. There's nothing the matter here, only there ain't no eats. This here is the best case I got yet. But they're for the same thing. They're striking for their kids." At this the agitator smiled wisely again.

From authentic sources it appears that he has numberless confederates. The strikers' children are linked in a

"Let it Rain, Let it Pour!"



Old Andy Mellon doesn't have to worry about charges of shady ways of getting money thru his Aluminum Trust. He's protected.

monster conspiracy against the stirring up their parents for years bosses. They've been agitating and past.

If I Were an Artist - By Pauline Schulman

IF I could draw, the first thing I would portray would be the shop in which I have been working recently. The shop in itself is the average dingy factory with windows that have not been cleaned for the longest time, and which in all other respects differs very little from the average shop. But the exception was that here not only was the employer ruling over his workers, but his wife, Mrs. S., was also a very determined "queen."

This Mrs. S. is the first figure that I'd like to paint if I were an artist.

She is one of the very short and stout women who while walking resembles a large barrel rolling about. Her tiny eyes were hidden away in her fleshy cheeks. Her short, thick neck terminates in a sizeable hunk of fat in the nape, while her short waist drew the eyes at once to her rounded shoulders. Her lofty bosom contrasted with her short piano-like legs. Her full arms and large hands formed themselves into little pillows. Heavy diamond rings pressed deep into the flesh of almost every finger. On the whole she presents a spectacle fit for an exhibition.

This Mrs. S. criticized severely the girls at the machine for being lazy, the girls, who reminded one of a bouquet of flowers, fading because of lack of sunshine and fresh air. Mrs. S. approaching the girls shrieking in a voice as shrill as a policeman's whistle the following sentiments:

"A bunch of good-for-nothings, that is what they are. They don't care to work. Money, money, give them—that is what they want. (Looking at her non-ringed fingers.) If you girls would let down one nickel on the garment we could take in another order. (Quietly to herself). One nickel less on each garment would make so much and so much on the whole." With this additional profit she might be able to furnish with jewels the remaining unequipped fingers without encroaching on the usual profits.

Mrs. S. (continuing her calculation): "If they would work one hour more besides the eight hours per day, in the course of a few months I could get that pretty necklace, too, that I saw at A—'s. (Looking at another garment.) If I could squeeze down another dime here, why in a very short while I would be able to move to Riverside Drive where all the better class people live and would not have to remain among the 'likes'."

Mrs. S., in her imagination, saw herself among those people for whom a funky in uniform opens the hall door. "It is true I will have to learn the English language when moving up the Drive, but what of it?"

Then she would get the girls accustomed to work the entire day Saturday instead of merely half a day. Thus she surely would be soon in a position to buy a "swell" car, not a Ford, but a Studebaker, and have

chauffeur of her own.

BUT the girls could hardly wait that

5 o'clock bell. With a sigh of relief they arose from their seats and tried to straighten their backs.

All of them were anxious to be out as soon as possible. One was hurrying away to a meeting, another to enjoy the thrills of a serial picture she was following in the movies; a third girl, about thirty-five years of age, who had been ceaselessly chattering all day long, manifested a complex due to the suppression of the sex urge and was in a greater haste than the others. This time she was determined to speak to him—the druggist whom she met recently. "He says that he likes me but cannot marry me. I should live with him like that . . . but if after a short while he should leave me, and if I should meet someone else who would be willing to marry me—would he do so if he discovered I was no longer a virgin?"

The struggle within her left its marks on her thin, pale face and nervous eyes. Her tall and slender figure personified one who tried to combat the natural law.

If I were an artist I should paint a symbolic picture of a narrowed mind involuntarily but firmly imprisoning her body in a stifling cell.

MRS S. was enraged when the girls were about to leave. "Why are you rushing, girls? What is the matter? Can't you work another hour?

Look at all the money you are losing, and what do you say, can we take in another order? You know that we don't care, but it is for you girls, we want you to have steady work and plenty of it."

The girl who was in a hurry to go to the meeting in a stern tone of emphatic determination retorted: "No! Neither will we let down the nickel nor will we work overtime. Eight hours a day are more than sufficient to work."

Mrs. S.'s lofty bosom began to heave in rapid majesty. She was on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Her substantial body plumped down on a chair. With both hands she clutched at her throbbing temples, bellowing to her husband in a hoarse voice, "We will have to break their stiffness."

Looking down at her hands and noticing those orphaned, diamondless fingers, she began to yell at the top of her voice.

"If you don't like to work get out of here and let others make a living! Plenty of people are starving."

In her excitement, her miniature eyes burning like the fires of Hell, her greasy face flashing in flaming crimson red, reminded one of a roasting pig. "Oh! How I hate those 'kikes.' They wouldn't let me live."

She cried out aloud. Large tears rolled down her face, the tears of emotional release.

Yes, if I were only a painter.

Workers' Education at the Turning Point

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

THE fate of workers' education is hanging in the balance. The Carnegie corporation, the largest of the many funds created out of the millions wrung out of the American steel workers by the late Andrew Carnegie, is openly out to buy up and corrupt, with the philosophy of class collaboration, the entire working class movement of the United States. It has already given to the Workers' Education \$25,000 at a clip for a publication fund, and its resources for the corruption of the first beginnings of a workers' education movement in the United States appear to be unlimited.

The consciousness of this fact hung like a shadow over the Third Annual Conference of teachers engaged in workers' education, called by Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers, at Brookwood College, February 19, 1922. The agenda of the Conference seemed to promise a more or less platonic discussion of the relatively non-essential matters connected with workers' education. Questions of psychology, of the maintenance of interest, of the development of a demand for workers' education, of promotion and maintenance, of the use of the drama, etc.—such were the formal subjects scheduled for discussion. But, running thru every paper and every general discussion was always the underlying preoccupation with two fundamental questions: Why is workers' education? and how shall we resist the financial octopus that threatens to engulf it? The manner of deciding both of these questions will determine the fate of the movement for workers' education in America.

As I expressed it in a conversation with Lloyd M. Cosgrave, secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, "Working class education in America has a great future but no past." It is, in fact, in its infancy. Hitherto the American labor movement "has always been interested in education, but it is only within recent years that it has become interested in its own education" and it has still to determine what character its own education shall take.

THE representation at the conference ranged all the way from university professors who wanted to extend the benefits of bourgeois "sweetness and light" to the working class, to coal miners who thought that the purpose of workers' education was to teach the workers how to get more of what they produced and take over the government and the mines.

Thus the field of workers' education in America is at present a battleground between these warring tendencies and one of the most heated discussions at the conference was precipitated when I attempted to define the class basis of workers' education. I pointed out that the university extensionists, the cultural philanthropists, and the open shoppers were united in claiming that "the moment it (education) attempts to impose a certain curricula (sic) as representative of the needs of wage earners, it must defeat its own purposes and the interests of its supporters." (Law and Labor, Vol. 8, No. 1—Jan. 1926—Law and Labor is the legal organ of the open shoppers.) I tried further to point out that education, controlled by the workers, financed by the workers and permeated with their point of view was as necessary as were unions, controlled and financed by the workers and expressing their point of view or as newspapers so controlled and so financed.

This elementary concept, that all workers must hold, was attacked by people at the conference as "ugly, brutal and damnable." One speaker went so far as to declare, "Education for the workers is not education at all," and another: "I hate the phrase 'the workers.' I hate all generalizing phrases. I hate this phrase to get into our general vocabulary. They always tend to make us feel that the workers are a specialized class, that they are the other fellow."

THIS conflict, thru which British workers' education went a little earlier, is now being fought out ideo-

logically in the infant education movement of the American workers. But, before the conference was over, there was not the shadow of a doubt but that the majority of those present accept the view that workers' education must be controlled and financed by the workers and must serve their class interests, altho there was wide difference of opinion as to what these class interests really are.

But the question which dominated the conference and gave to the often futile discussions a vague background of historic bigness, was the question of how to defend workers' education from the enveloping movement which had been begun by the powerful Carnegie Corporation.

Again and again vague references were made to the question of "taking money from the enemies of labor," but always in such a way as to leave the uninitiated in doubt as to whether this was really a vital question that had to be decided then and there, or whether it was an abstract theoretical discussion on the principle of financing workers' education. But, as the conference continued, the increased repetition of these references, in always more and more definite forms, gradually made it clear that the speakers were bothered by a living reality, by a danger which threatened the very life of the labor movement and its educational activity.

At last, on the final day of the conference, the vague doubts took definite form and the names of Rockefeller and Carnegie were brought into the sessions and tied up with the question of financing working class education. Many of the delegates still did not believe that this could really be so. Paul W. Fuller, educational director of Sub District 2, United Mine Workers of America, declared: "If any workers' institution ever got such funds and if it got to District 2, you could preach the funeral of that organization as far as the miners are concerned." A delegate, active in workers' education in Germany, thought the whole thing was a joke and said: "I do not know how it is in America, but in Germany it is hopeless to try to get funds from employers for workers' education. We do not have to worry about that."

A SHORT time before closing time of the final scheduled session of the conference a resolution was finally introduced by the secretary of the conference in the name of a group of delegates, reading as follows:

"Resolved, That the members of the American Federation of Teachers, invited to attend the conference on workers' education, in session at Brookwood Feb. 22, 1922, go on record as opposing the acceptance, by agencies for workers' education, of money or other assistance from institutions such as the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board or other organizations fundamentally opposed to the interests of the working class."

This resolution at last convinced every delegate that they were faced, not with an abstract discussion on finance, but a concrete question of the fate of workers' education. A desultory discussion started, but it lacked only a few minutes for the final adjournment of the conference. On my motion, a special session was called for the afternoon of the same day to consider exclusively this resolution.

This special session was carried on under a changed atmosphere. The air seemed charged with intensity as the delegates began their first discussion of vital significance. A. J. Muste and Arthur Calhoun, who had attended the conference called by the Committee on Adult Education of the Carnegie Corporation, in an unofficial capacity, reported their observations on that conference. Calhoun described the plan of the Carnegie Corporation as "a universal and limitless scheme for bringing workers' education under their control." "They have, at their disposal, limitless financial means and are ready to subvert any workers' education movement that will accept their support."

QUESTIONING of Calhoun, Muste and Spencer Miller, secretary of



A Sketch from Life by a Worker Correspondent, A. L. Pollock.

the Workers' Education Bureau, revealed that the Carnegie Corporation had called a preliminary conference in Cleveland in October 1925, to consider the question of adult education, including workers' education; that then a committee of seven had been set up to call regional conferences. This committee of seven had summoned a conference on adult education in New York to which they invited various representatives of workers' education movements, such as: Fania Cohen of the International Ladies' Garment-Workers' Union, A. J. Muste and Arthur Calhoun of Brookwood and others. (The Workers' School was not among the invited guests.) Some of these declined to attend and others had attended to investigate the matter. They found there representatives of university extension movements, of the motion picture interests, of the museums, of the public lectures, of the naturalization and Americanization activities and various other elements interested in one or another form of adult "education."

Cross questioning revealed that the committee of seven, which called this conference, included none other than Spencer Miller, secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, himself. Thereupon, he took the floor and was subjected to a cross fire of questions as if he were on trial before the bar of justice (and perhaps more than he realized, he was on trial before the American labor movement.)

He admitted that the Carnegie Corporation had insinuated that it was ready to give money to the cause of workers' education and that his bureau had asked for \$25,000 in December which the Carnegie Corporation granted on Feb. 15 of this year. Then, one by one, the delegates expressed themselves, in no uncertain terms, as condemning the acceptance of this enormous sum from a source so hostile to labor. The opposition ranged all the way from that cautious

viewpoint that "the Workers' Education Bureau would lose prestige among the workers if it did not keep its skirts clean," to the view that no working class movement can possibly accept finances from the Carnegie Corporation if there were not something wrong in the matter. "By accepting the money, the Workers' Education Bureau has aided the Carnegie Corporation in its scheme to corrupt the workers' education movement and give that corporation prestige before the American working class," declared Calhoun. "We do not want the Workers' Education Bureau to become financially independent of the labor movement," was Dana's point of view. David Saposs, one of the members of the Workers' Education Bureau executive, revealed that he and Fania Cohen had voted against accepting the money, but that all the others, including James Maurer, (socialist) John Brophy, Matthew Woll and John P. Frey, had voted in favor. The eleven members of the executive include Jos. W. Perkins.

THE feeling of the conference was such that when I declared: "If the Carnegie Corporation has given us money for a publication fund, it should convince us that there is something wrong with the character of the publications that we have been putting out and it is time that we published some works of such character that only the workers could possibly support our publication activities," the applause was general.

The final result of the conference was a unanimous vote, 18 being recorded in favor and no one, not even Spencer Miller himself, voting against the resolution.

Thus, the conference marks a big step forward in the development of working class education, financed and controlled by the working class and giving their point of view and aiming to serve them in their struggle for emancipation.